

THE JAPANESE EXPERIENCE IN BRITAIN, 1862-1876:

JAPAN'S CULTURAL DISCOVERY OF THE VICTORIAN WORLD  
IN THE EARLY YEARS OF OVERSEAS TRAVEL

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## Abstract

The overseas investigations undertaken in the pursuit of knowledge by early Japanese travellers during the 1860s and 1870s have left a unique record of life in the West as seen by visitors whose understanding of developments in the world outside had been limited by centuries of cultural isolation. Fascinated by the extent of British political and commercial influence they observed during their travels, they paid particularly close attention to the Victorian world, and London became the base of the largest group of Japanese students to emerge overseas.

This thesis examines the nature of these travellers' experiences and their perceptions of Victorian Britain. The period addressed covers the unprecedented boom in overseas travel from its inception during the last years of *bakufu* rule, and through the first years of the Meiji régime until 1876, when new government regulations were already beginning to curb the numbers of Japanese students abroad.

The study presents an analysis of the diaries in which many early travellers recorded their observations of life outside Japan. It also examines a selection of particularly significant published works that some wrote following their return, which gave readers in Japan their first detailed introduction to civilization in Britain. In addition to well-known figures such as Fukuzawa Yukichi, this features long-overlooked writers like Nomura Fumio and Nakai Hiroshi whose works were also influential in the early Meiji years.

The experiences of early overseas travellers in the 1860s and 1870s led to rapid advances in Japanese understanding of the world outside. By examining in detail how first-hand observations enabled travellers to develop increasingly sophisticated views of the Victorian world, this study clarifies the underlying forces at work in shaping perceptions of the West as a whole during this most formative stage in the modern history of Japan.

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#### Note on romanisation of Japanese names

Japanese names in this text are arranged in the order used in Japan with family names preceding given names.

The method of romanisation used is the *hyōjun-shiki* (standard system), an adaptation of the Hepburn system, with macrons indicating long vowels.

All place names given follow this system with the single exception of Tokyo (read as Tōkyō) which features so frequently that I have dispensed with macrons.

## INTRODUCTION

Japanese understanding of the outside world advanced rapidly during the early years of overseas travel in the mid-nineteenth century. Until then, generations of scholars had struggled against the constrictions imposed on outside cultural contact by the *bakufu* authorities, often using material in Chinese and Dutch in order to glean information about the lands beyond Japan's shores. Their attention was particularly drawn to countries such as Russia, and then Britain, which increasingly appeared to threaten the security of the Tokugawa world. Following the opening of the treaty ports in 1859, however, opportunities to travel and observe life overseas at first hand created a flow of ideas and an impressive volume of written information that soon revised the existing vague impressions of such far-away cultures, and extended the parameters of Japanese knowledge of civilization in the West.

This thesis attempts to examine the experiences of such travellers and the progress of their overseas investigations, and evaluate the development of Japanese perceptions of one culture, the Victorian world. Research on these early Japanese overseas explorations is crucial to an understanding of the process of modernisation in nineteenth-century Japan. Existing works on this topic, however, have concentrated predominantly on diplomatic aspects of some of the first official missions, and those which have addressed travellers' cultural experience abroad have often been limited to biographical studies of individuals who later became influential figures in the Meiji government. A whole range of documents written by early travellers have thus escaped systematic analysis as they fall beyond the range of these parameters. Nevertheless, in terms of examining a Japanese overseas experience, such records may possess a historical value in relation to the perceptions they describe, regardless of whether or not the writer was involved in official diplomatic negotiations, or whether or not he later became a household name in Meiji Japan.

When approaching the subject of early Japanese travels in the 1860s and 1870s, it is tempting to present the material in the form of narratives describing the progress of diplomatic missions and expeditions of students in broadly

chronological order. This, however, would amount to little more than a compilation of existing research in Japanese. For similar reasons, important diplomatic negotiations undertaken by government missions such as the Iwakura embassy have not been addressed in detail in this study, because these have already been examined in available English works.

It is rather my concern here to throw new light on the Japanese exploration of the outside world by attempting to understand the psychology lying behind early travellers' encounters with western societies, in this case the Victorian world. The study has been organised thematically, and draws together primary documents written during and as a result of such pioneering adventures. Both the singular and common experiences which they record have been traced from the travellers' departure to their return, following their voyages to Europe and activities in Britain. Comparable observations have been analysed together because, even if they were recorded by travellers on different expeditions at different times, they can reveal the common features which characterise the Japanese experience in the Victorian world.

There is a variety of primary source material to draw upon. Letters and memoirs, for example, can be useful in filling gaps in our knowledge of Japanese travellers' activities. The two most significant sets of documents analysed, however, are *tansaku*<sup>a</sup> investigations and travel diaries. *Tansaku* investigations were the organised results of overseas research that some travellers wrote up following their return to Japan. They continued a long-standing tradition of scholarship on western countries that had grown during the Edo period, but gave it fresh impetus by supplementing the bookish knowledge of their forebears with their own first-hand observations. An examination of these works within the context of this older tradition can reveal important stages in the development of Japanese perceptions of the world outside.

Many early Japanese travellers were compulsive diarists. They showed a marked tendency to employ a writing style quite distinct from forms of travel journals found in other cultures, and their diaries therefore need to be addressed within the context of the ancient and unique diary tradition in Japan. These records vividly convey their early encounters with the outside world, and show that

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a. 探索

travellers' introduction to Victorian culture often took place during the course of the long voyage from Japan, and long before they first set foot in Europe. Some diaries written by members of official missions have long been published, and describe in detail their cultural encounters during these voyages. Nevertheless, this important initial phase of their overseas experience has often fallen outside the concerns of diplomatic history and such records have remained largely unexplored as tools of research.

An additional justification for a systematic analysis of these diaries is the fact that a number of hitherto unknown travel journals have come to light in Japan in recent years. Research on such documents has often been conducted at a provincial level, the efforts of Inuzuka Takaaki in drawing together documents relating to travellers from Satsuma and Chōshū being particularly notable. I have also been involved in these activities to a limited extent, for not only has Professor Inuzuka helped me to translate his influential work on the Satsuma students in Britain, but my postgraduate research in Kyūshū has enabled me to trace, collate and transcribe diverse documents written by overseas travellers from Hizen, a *han* second only to Satsuma in the number of students it sent overseas.<sup>1</sup>

The increasing availability of such source material makes it possible to embark upon a broader study of the Japanese experience in the West. Ideally, such a study would comprise an analysis of all overseas travellers, but this would encounter insurmountable problems of scale. In order to address the Japanese overseas experience through a detailed analysis of primary sources, therefore, the range of enquiry must be limited, and the most practical way of doing so is to focus on documents relating to the Japanese experience in one country.

There are a number of reasons for selecting Britain as the focus of such a study. No other country engaged early Japanese overseas investigators' interest as much as Victorian Britain. The most exhaustive of the reports compiled during the first *bakufu* mission to Europe in 1862 was *Eikoku Tansaku*,<sup>a</sup> the report on Britain. When Japanese travellers expounded on the theme of political power in their diaries during the voyage through Asia, it was invariably in response to their observations of British authority in the colonies they visited en route.

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a. 「英国探索」

London was the initial destination of almost all illegal travellers in the 1860s, and no study of the Japanese in the West in this period would be complete without an analysis of the *mikkōsha*,<sup>a</sup> the men predominantly from *han* in southwestern Japan who defied the *bakufu* authorities' ban on overseas travel to escape abroad.

As publications introducing overseas civilizations proliferated during the late 1860s and early 1870s, no western society was held up as a model, or as a useful source of reference, more than Victorian Britain. Fukuzawa Yukichi admitted laying particular emphasis on Britain in his best-selling *Seiyō Jijō* [*Conditions in the West*].<sup>b</sup> Nomura Fumio's *Seiyō Bunken Roku* [*Record of Observations in the West*],<sup>c</sup> published shortly afterwards, boldly offered a survey of all things western on the strength of information almost exclusively relating to Britain. No other country received as much attention in *Tokumei Zenken Taishi Bei-Ō Kairan Jikki*,<sup>d</sup> Kume Kunitake's exhaustive official account of the Iwakura embassy's overseas travels published in 1878. As a result, it was hardly surprising that, during the rush for knowledge overseas immediately following the end of the civil war in Japan, Britain should become the destination most regularly chosen by Japanese students on their way to Europe, with London attracting a larger student population than any other city in the West.

Images of Victorian Britain in the eyes of these travellers were thus an integral part of Japanese cultural discovery in the mid-nineteenth century. The range of available source material, however, limits the extent to which the Japanese experience in Britain in these years can be explored. In spite of the numbers of overseas travellers, for example, few students managed to keep a journal for long after their arrival in Europe. Nevertheless, through an analysis of available *tansaku* works, diaries and letters, a distinct pattern does emerge, revealing these travellers' responses to their experiences overseas. This enables us to trace with greater clarity how Japanese perceptions evolved during their first encounter with the Victorian world, and the legacy this left to Meiji Japan.

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- a. 密航者
  - b. 福沢諭吉著「西洋事情」
  - c. 野村文夫著「西洋聞見録」
  - d. 久米邦武著「特命全權大使米欧回覧実記」

## Chapter One: The Historical Context of the Japanese Experience in Britain

The Japanese who travelled overseas in the early 1860s were pioneers of the first in-depth investigation of far-off lands. Many of them were aware of the unprecedented opportunity they had to observe for themselves the way of life in Europe and America. Although they were not the first from their country to have reached these lands, such an opportunity had been denied their immediate forebears by the *sakoku* edicts,<sup>a</sup> the exclusion laws enforced by the Tokugawa *bakufu* since the 1630s. In the form of diplomatic missions, tours of inspection and academic studies during the 1860s and 1870s, a newly-discovered appetite for overseas travel sprang from and fostered a level of interest and research relating to western cultures that was unparalleled in the nineteenth-century world. Victorian society received particularly close attention from many of the travellers who wrote about their observations abroad following their return to Japan, and their perceptions of Britain were to play an influential role in the development of Japanese attitudes to the West as a whole. To clarify the context in which their cultural discovery of Britain occurred, I will, in this chapter, trace the background of Japanese travels in Europe and America from their origins in the sixteenth century through to their development in the last years of the Tokugawa régime and the early Meiji period.

### *Sakoku* law and the ban on overseas travel

The term *sakoku* (closed country) was not an invention of the *bakufu*, but was coined in 1801 by an interpreter in Nagasaki. Japan may have appeared totally barred to contemporary European eyes, but *sakoku* laws were somewhat less than exclusive in the actual extent to which they curtailed trade and contact with the world outside. Although they were confined to the port of Nagasaki by 1641, a handful of Dutch traders and rather more Chinese merchants continued to operate there throughout the Edo period. The *tōsen*<sup>b</sup> or 'Chinese junks' that were seen in Nagasaki included vessels from as far away as Jakarta, Siam, and other regions of south-east Asia. Furthermore, trade with Korea was organised through the Tsushima *han* and entailed regular Korean trade missions to Edo, while the Satsuma *han*'s occupation of the Ryūkyū islands enabled goods from China to reach Kagoshima.

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a. 鎖国

b. 唐船

Some communication with overseas traders was thus possible during the Edo period, but the *sakoku* edicts also included a ban on overseas travel, and this severely curtailed opportunities for cultural contact with the outside world. The ban was imposed in 1635 and stipulated the death penalty for anyone leaving the country without permission from the *bakufu*. A number of Japanese returning from abroad at the time were summarily executed. Before the imposition of the *sakoku* edicts, the Japanese had been active in East Asian waters. The waning authority of the Ming dynasty had enabled *wakō*<sup>a</sup> pirates to establish their own spheres of influence on the Chinese seaboard. The notorious Amboina massacre perpetrated by the Dutch in 1623 cost the lives of nine Japanese mercenaries in the pay of the English. There were also a number of flourishing Japanese settlements overseas, notably in Luzon and Thailand. The Japanese quarter in Bangkok numbered over one thousand by the 1630s and even survived for several decades after overseas travel was banned.<sup>1</sup>

There had also been opportunities for travel further afield following the arrival of European missionaries and merchants in Japan in the mid-sixteenth century. Such ventures would involve a return voyage of at least three years. Bernardo, a poor samurai of the Satsuma *han*, reached Lisbon in 1553, became a Jesuit and died there in 1557. Two missions travelled to Rome via Spain for audiences with the Pope. In 1584, a mission sent by the Christian *daimyō* of Kyūshū reached Europe. The party of Itō Manshō<sup>b</sup> and three other young men with their two attendants stayed in Europe until 1586. The Keichō mission led by Hasekura Tsunenaga<sup>c</sup> of the Sendai *han* is said to have numbered some 140 participants, though only a minority were figures of rank and just fifteen made their entry into Rome. Reaching Spain via Mexico in 1614, they spent three years in Europe, but when Hasekura returned to Japan in 1620, he found to his cost that Date Masamune,<sup>d</sup> the *daimyō* of Sendai, had already embarked on the suppression of Christianity in earnest.<sup>2</sup>

The first Japanese known to have reached Britain arrived as captives of Thomas Cavendish. In 1587, Cavendish captured a Spanish galleon with two youths of about seventeen and twenty on board known as Christopher and Cosmos, and he took them to England where they were greeted with considerable interest.<sup>3</sup> A few years later, Cavendish was again recorded as having 'departed England 26

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- a. 倭寇
  - b. 伊東マンショウ
  - c. 支倉常長
  - d. 伊達正宗

August 1591 with 5 ships of his own, to sail into the South Seas where he took a great ship laden with gold, silks & much riches, as also 3 boys of Japan & returned rich to England, upon the words of the Japanese boys, to lade there & come back'.<sup>4</sup>

More voluntary journeys followed when the English East India Company established a factory on the island of Hirado in 1613. Eleven local sailors were employed to crew the *Clove* and spent the winter of 1614 in Plymouth waiting for their return passage. Described as 'brabbling Japons' after a wage dispute with William Adams, these men left with the January 1615 fleet after the company had bought them 30 gowns 'to shelter them from the ext'mitie of the weather'.<sup>5</sup> When the Hirado factory was closed in 1623, a young boy called Uriemon journeyed to England where he was known as William Eaton. The son of an English factor by a Hirado woman, he went on to study at Trinity College, Cambridge and became a denizen of England in 1639. Eaton described himself as having been 'borne in Japaon one of the remotest parts of the east Indyes' and 'in his yonng yeares brought into England where by the charitable dispocion of some and by like well disposed people hath hitherto bene mainteyned in y<sup>or</sup> Ma<sup>ty</sup>s Colledge in Cambridge'.<sup>6</sup>

In spite of these earlier episodes, the enforcement of the *bakufu* ban on overseas travel effectively served to prevent any systematic attempts to observe other cultures for over 200 years. The few notable cases of Japanese travellers reaching Europe during this period serve only to underline the success the *bakufu* had in limiting opportunities for venturing abroad. Although just a short voyage away from western Japan, even mainland China remained largely inaccessible. When the first *bakufu* party arrived in Shanghai in 1862, they were even mistaken for natives of the Ryūkyū islands.<sup>7</sup>

The first known attempt to defy the ban on overseas travel and journey to Europe in order to study was the case of a physician called Nakajima Chōjirō.<sup>a</sup> He escaped from Dejima in Nagasaki in the early 1690s on board a Dutch ship, and went on to study medicine at Leiden University for two years. He then managed to return, apparently undetected by the *bakufu* authorities and continued to practice in Japan. The medical instruments he brought back from Holland are

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a. 中島長次郎



still kept in Kumamoto, where he was later employed.<sup>8</sup>

Most of the Japanese who reached Europe before the opening of the country arrived inadvertently as castaways. It was not uncommon for mariners in coastal trading vessels to be shipwrecked on the shores of Kamchatka and promptly killed by the natives. In 1702, however, a certain Denbē was spared the fate of his companions and taken to St. Petersburg on the orders of Peter I. There he was set to work in a Japanese language school which had been set up with a view to expanding Russian interests in Asian waters. Other Japanese sailors were also taken to St. Petersburg to become teachers, such as Sanami in 1710, and Sōzō and Gonzō in 1729. In 1744, ten castaways were baptised and lived out their days in Irkutsk. The Japanese school was also moved there in 1768, but was finally closed down eight years later. The only two castaways who managed to return to Japan after their travels in Russia were Daikokuya Kōdayū<sup>a</sup> and Isokichi of Ise. They had originally reached Irkutsk in 1783 and, after making repeated requests to be sent home, were successfully deported in Matsumae *han* territory in 1791. They were then sent to Edo to be questioned at length by *bakufu* officials, but were considered too dangerous to allow back into Japanese society and held in captivity thereafter.<sup>9</sup>

Japanese castaways fortunate enough to miss the coast of Kamchatka occasionally found their way across the Pacific Ocean. Between 1815 and 1854, five Japanese ships are known to have appeared off the coast of America, and three on the islands of Hawaii. Three survivors who reached British Columbia in late 1833 were first sent by the Hudson Bay Company to Britain from where they managed to find their way back as far as Macao. In 1837, cannonfire prevented the USS Morrison from returning them to Japan together with four other castaways from Higo, and they had little choice but to find service as interpreters. One of the original three was Otokichi<sup>b</sup> who later served as an interpreter during Admiral Stirling's mission to Japan in 1854. His services were then dispensed with, and he was discovered in Singapore in 1862 by *bakufu* delegates on their way to Europe who found him a curiosity, married with children, and pleading to be taken back to Japan.<sup>10</sup>

Later castaways in America made better use of their opportunities as

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a. 大黒屋光太夫

b. 音吉

interpreters and emerged as pioneers of innovation during the last years of the Edo period. Nakahama 'John' Manjirō of Tosa<sup>a</sup> reached the United States in 1843, and entered school on the east coast. His rare knowledge was highly valued by the *bakufu* authorities on his return in 1852; in addition to assisting with translations, he served as an interpreter on the *bakufu* mission to America in 1860, and on a small-scale inspection tour of Europe in 1870. A similar case, Joseph Heco, reached America in 1851 and returned to Japan on the opening of the treaty ports in 1859. He published an account of his travels, *Hyōryū Ki*,<sup>b</sup> in 1863 and became a pioneer in the development of newspapers in Japan.

Whether by accident or design, few of the Japanese who found themselves abroad during the Edo period were able to return and impart their personal experience to the curious audience they would have found there. Exceptions included Nakajima in the 1690s who covertly succeeded in applying his unique knowledge of Dutch medicine, and also Daikokuya a century later, although his information was jealously controlled by the *bakufu*. By the 1850s, castaways like Nakahama could be viewed at official level with still guarded but more receptive interest, just as Japanese investigations of the world outside were poised to assume grander dimensions with the opening of the treaty ports.

#### The wave of Japanese overseas investigations

The growth of Japanese interest in Europe in modern times is closely related to the rise of Dutch Studies (*rangaku*)<sup>c</sup> in the eighteenth century, and was initially confined to specific academic disciplines like medicine, astronomy and geography. During the mid-nineteenth century, as fears for Japan's coastal security increased, *rangaku* expanded to encompass disciplines such as gunnery and navigation, which in turn fed an interest in technology and science. By the 1850s, there were considerable numbers of *rangaku* scholars, some of whom had increasingly cultivated a professional interest in western civilization from geographical gazeteers they had read in Dutch, Chinese or Japanese translation. Direct access to the outside world, however, remained an abstract dream until the *bakufu*'s newly established trade relations with the treaty powers required the despatch of diplomatic missions overseas.

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- a. 中浜万次郎
  - b. 「漂流記」
  - c. 蘭学

These early overseas missions heralded the first wave of Japanese overseas travel in modern times, spanning the last nine years of the Edo period and the early Meiji period. During these years, investigations of the West took on unprecedented proportions, expanding to eventually encompass a wide range of academic fields. Dutch-based *rangaku* was increasingly replaced by western studies (*yōgaku*)<sup>a</sup> which drew on other European languages, predominantly English. Research was carried out overseas, initially during *bakufu* diplomatic missions, and later by parties of *bakufu* students. From the mid-1860s, other groups of students sent by individual *han* also ventured overseas. At first, these were illegal travellers, or *mikkōsha*, who escaped abroad in defiance of the *bakufu* ban on overseas travel. They were followed by students on travel permits after the ban was finally lifted in 1866. After the overthrow of the Tokugawa régime, there occurred an unprecedented boom in the numbers of Japanese students overseas, sent by government departments and also individual *han*. This wave of overseas investigations culminated in the Iwakura embassy that departed in late 1871 and toured both America and Europe before returning to Japan in 1873.

#### Bakufu diplomatic missions

The catalyst that persuaded the *bakufu* government to send a mission overseas was primarily diplomatic. Clause Fourteen of the 1858 trade treaty with the United States specified that the ratification papers were to be exchanged by a Japanese delegation. As a result of preparations laid by Townsend Harris, the American minister in Japan, an official *bakufu* party of no less than 77 representatives spent some two months in the United States in 1860. The mission visited Hawaii, San Francisco, Washington, Baltimore, Philadelphia and New York, before returning via the Cape of Good Hope, Singapore and Hong Kong. They were accompanied as far as San Francisco by 96 Japanese seamen on board the *Kanrin Maru*,<sup>b</sup> a Dutch-built ship under the supervision of American naval officers.

In 1862, there were two large-scale *bakufu* overseas expeditions. A *bakufu*-sponsored party of 51 spent three months in Shanghai investigating the possibilities of trade, while a 38-strong mission under Takenouchi Yasunori<sup>c</sup> was sent to Europe and spent five-and-a-half months travelling in France, Britain, Holland, Prussia, Russia and Portugal. The mission succeeded in obtaining European acquiescence to *bakufu* plans to postpone until 1868 the

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- a. 洋学
  - b. 咸臨丸
  - c. 竹内保徳

opening of two further treaty ports, Hyōgo and Niigata, and two cities, Ōsaka and Edo. This was achieved primarily through the 'London Protocol' at the price of surrendering some restrictions on commercial activity in the existing treaty ports of Nagasaki, Yokohama and Hakodate. In St. Petersburg, the mission also opened a diplomatic dialogue on the territorial dispute between Russia and Japan over the northern territories. The Takenouchi mission is also regarded as a milestone in the development of Japanese studies relating to the outside world due to the *tansaku* order, the *bakufu* directive given to six western specialists (*yōgakusha*) including a young Fukuzawa Yukichi to investigate the countries visited in Europe. Their notes and observations were compiled into detailed reports following their return, and Fukuzawa drew largely on this experience when later writing *Seiyō Jijō*, his best-selling introduction to western civilization.<sup>1</sup>

In 1864, a 34-strong mission under Ikeda Nagaaki<sup>a</sup> spent two months in Paris with orders to arrange compensation for recent attacks on the French in Japan, but more significantly charged with the task of winning support for *bakufu* plans to close the treaty port of Yokohama. Compensation was successfully arranged and the French welcomed the opportunity to promote closer ties with the *bakufu* through military and technological supplies and aid, but no agreement could be reached on the question of the treaty port. Unable to fulfill the mission, the party cancelled plans to visit Britain and hastily returned to Japan, arriving back so soon that it jeopardized the *bakufu*'s attempts to delay taking action over the growing crisis in the Straits of Shimonoseki where Chōshū *han* batteries had been firing on foreign shipping. Not only were Ikeda and other leading officials severely punished for their failure to secure the closure of the port of Yokohama, but they had become such an embarrassment to the *bakufu* that they were also barred from entering Edo.<sup>2</sup>

The efforts made by Léon Roches, the French minister in Japan, to promote closer ties with the *bakufu*, however, led to the despatch of a smaller party under Shibata Takenaka<sup>b</sup> which arrived in France in 1865. While there, Shibata negotiated details of a scheme to use French machinery and engineers in constructing a modern steelworks at Yokosuka near Yokohama, but he initially rejected an invitation to the *bakufu* to take part in the forthcoming Paris

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a. 池田長発

b. 柴田剛中

Exposition. When it was discovered that the Satsuma *han* had already undertaken to send their own party, however, the *bakufu* were belatedly stirred into organising an official presence for the occasion. Shibata's party also spent a month in Britain visiting naval installations although, as Beasley has suggested, 'one suspects that the whole operation was window-dressing in Japanese eyes, designed to obscure the fact that Edo was already committed to France for military and naval purposes'.<sup>3</sup>

Early in 1867, a seventeen-strong *bakufu* delegation spent three months in Russia for what turned out to be inconclusive negotiations over the question of the northern territories. The last mission sent overseas by the *bakufu* was a party of some 30 representatives including students under Tokugawa Akitake<sup>a</sup> which arrived in France later the same year to attend the Paris Exposition. This tour included visits to Holland, Belgium, Switzerland, Italy and two weeks in Britain, and the delegation was still in Europe when news arrived of the onset of civil war in Japan and the demise of the Tokugawa régime.

### Students

In that so few Japanese had any experience of life abroad, the first Japanese overseas students in the 1860s encountered an entirely alien world. They did not have the intellectual or cultural familiarity that students from European colonies such as India already possessed before making their way overseas. Nevertheless, in spite of the lack of direct contact with other cultures during the Edo period, they were able to draw upon a perhaps surprisingly well-established tradition of learning derived from Holland in particular even before they embarked on their research in Europe or America. A common preparation for overseas study was to attend relevant centres of learning within Japan. Aspiring students of specialist subjects like medicine, foreign languages or Dutch-style navigation and gunnery would first be sent by their *han* to study 'abroad' (*yūgaku*)<sup>b</sup> in cities like Edo, Ōsaka or Nagasaki. When decisions were made to send students overseas for research, they were increasingly drawn from the ranks of *han* officers like these who already had a measure of specialist knowledge relating to the West. In contrast to the ignorance of affairs outside Japan betrayed by many *bakufu* officials sent on diplomatic missions, these students often possessed a valuable grounding, however basic, in a European

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a. 徳川昭武

b. 遊学

language, usually Dutch in the early years, and some other specialist field, medical or military, before they left Japan.

i) bakufu students

The first expedition of students to be sent overseas was originally destined to study the naval arts in the United States. Both the subject and the destination were natural choices. For three years in the mid-1850s, a number of 'yūgaku' students had already gained experience of naval studies under the tuition of Dutch officers at the naval training centre organised in Nagasaki by the *bakufu*. Some of the more advanced *bakufu* officers on this course had then gone on to play a prominent part in manning the *Kanrin Maru* on her voyage to San Francisco in 1860, and had thus already observed naval bases on the coast of California.

The outbreak of civil war in the United States, however, persuaded the *bakufu* to send their students to Holland instead. After all, the students at the Nagasaki naval training centre already had some experience of a Dutch educational régime. As a result, a group of fifteen students sailed round the Cape of Good Hope and arrived in Holland in early 1863. There they monitored the construction of the *Kaiyō Maru*,<sup>a</sup> a warship ordered by the *bakufu*, and most of them sailed back to Japan on her maiden voyage in 1865. In addition to naval training, two of the students, Tsuda Mamichi and Nishi Amane,<sup>b</sup> are noted for having extended their research to include the study of international law, and went on to become leading figures of the *bunmei kaika* period,<sup>c</sup> the enlightenment of the early Meiji period. With the departure of the *Kaiyō Maru*, however, just three of the students remained in Holland during the last years of *bakufu* rule before returning to Japan in 1868.

In early 1866, a party of six *bakufu* students arrived in Europe bound for Russia and later the same year a third party of fourteen students left for Britain. The two groups differed markedly in composition. The former scheme was the idea, not of the *bakufu*, but of the Russian consul in Hakodate, and lack of Japanese enthusiasm for the project accounted for the absence of any stringent selection process, resulting in the choice of students later described as 'babes' by Mori Arinori<sup>d</sup> in St Petersburg.<sup>1</sup> The fourteen students bound for London, however, were chosen on the strength of examination results taken from 80 candidates at

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a. 開陽丸

b. 津田真道、西周

c. 文明開化

d. 森有礼

the *Kaiseijo*<sup>a</sup> college in Edo.

The last *bakufu* students to reach Europe accompanied Tokugawa Akitake's delegation to the Paris Exposition. Most of them were still there when news arrived of the overthrow of the Tokugawa régime and, with the one exception of Ichikawa Fumikichi,<sup>b</sup> who fathered a child in Russia, they all made their way back to Japan shortly afterwards. Although few members of the later *bakufu* student expeditions went on to make any great impact on Meiji society, the party in Britain did include such notable individuals as Nakamura Masanao, an influential figure in promoting the diffusion of both liberal and Christian ideals, Toyama Masakazu and Kikuchi Dairoku, who both went on to become president of Tokyo University, and also the diplomat, Hayashi Tadasu, later noted for his efforts in promoting the Anglo-Japanese alliance.<sup>c</sup>

ii) illegal students, the *mikkōsha*

Of all the different Japanese students who ventured abroad in the mid-nineteenth century, the most hazardous expeditions were those of the *mikkōsha*, illegal travellers who defied the *bakufu* ban on overseas travel to make their escapes to America and Europe. These began with solitary ventures in the 1850s, such as that of Yoshida Shōin<sup>d</sup> who tried to reach America in 1854, but was put ashore after stealing aboard one of Perry's ships moored in Uruga bay. This was the first known example of an attempted *mikkō* since that of Nakajima 160 years before him.

Others met with more success, such as Tachibana Kōsai in 1855, Saitō Kenjiō in 1862, and Niihima Jō in 1864, all of them unaffiliated travellers in that they did not escape overseas in the service of any *han*.<sup>e</sup> Tachibana Kōsai had been imprisoned by the *bakufu* authorities at Shimoda after showing maps to Putiatin's interpreter, and escaped overseas in 1855 to avoid further punishment. He slipped aboard a Russian ship hidden in a barrel, but his flight was complicated by the circumstances of the Crimean conflict, for he was soon captured by the British and taken to London as a prisoner-of-war. Tachibana was released at the end of the war the following year, and made his way to St Petersburg where he worked as an interpreter and language teacher under the assumed name of Vladimir Yamatov. After nearly twenty years abroad, he retired

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a. 開成所

b. 市川文吉

c. 中村正直、外山正一、菊池大麓、林董

d. 吉田松陰

e. 橘耕齊、齊藤健次郎、新島襄

to Japan in 1874 on a pension from the Russian government.<sup>1</sup>

In 1862, Saitō Kenjirō was slipped out of Yokohama by Charles, Comte de Montblanc, and pressed into service in Paris. There he studied politics and worked as an interpreter in Montblanc's efforts to establish contact with *bakufu* and Satsuma travellers in Europe, sometimes in tandem with the French japanologist Léon de Rosny. He met his demise in 1867 in the employ of the Satsuma delegation at the Paris Exposition when he was accused of treachery and assassinated during the party's voyage back to Japan. A more fruitful adventure was that of Niihama Jō who developed his personal interest in Christianity by escaping from Hakodate on a British ship in 1864 and making his way to America. After nearly nine years away, he returned to devote his energies to establishing Christian education in Japan and founded the *Dōshisha* English School in Kyōto, the forerunner of the modern *Dōshisha* University.<sup>a</sup>

During the 1860s, such solitary escapes were followed by groups of officers, sent overseas illegally by their *han*. These hailed predominantly from the strong *han* of the south-west, the *seinan yuhan*,<sup>b</sup> such as Satsuma, Chōshū and Hizen. One factor in precipitating expeditions from Satsuma and Chōshū was the fear that the *bakufu* and other *han* might seize a monopoly on information from overseas. Only one Chōshū officer was allowed to join the first *bakufu* diplomatic mission to America in 1860, while just one each from Satsuma and Chōshū accompanied the Takenouchi mission to Europe in 1862. In contrast, Hizen, for example, had a closer relationship with the *bakufu* and was allowed to send as many as seven representatives on the mission to America and three to Europe. Satsuma and Chōshū also had the sobering experience of military combat against western weapons to draw upon, following the British bombardment of Kagoshima in 1863, and an allied squadron's bombardment of batteries in the Shimonoseki straits the following year. This served to redirect the energies of the strong xenophobic *jōi* elements in both *han*; rather than attack foreigners in the treaty ports, there was a growing awareness of the need to learn directly from the military preeminence of the western powers.

Yoshida Shōin's enthusiasm for investigating western civilization had a profound influence on students at his influential *Shōkason juku* in Hagi.<sup>c</sup> The

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a. 同志社英学校、同志社大学

b. 西南雄藩

c. 松下村塾



five Chōshū officers who escaped to Britain in 1863 with the approval of their *han* included former pupils of Yoshida such as Inoue Kaoru and Itō Hirobumi.<sup>a</sup> They reached London via the Cape of Good Hope, and four of them registered to study at University College London.<sup>2</sup> After learning of the Shimonoseki crisis in a newspaper the following year, however, Inoue and Itō hurried back to warn their *han* of the futility of antagonising the treaty powers. Of the others, Endō Kinsuke returned to Japan in 1866, while Yamao Yōzō and Inoue Masaru remained in Britain until 1868.<sup>b</sup>

The grandest illegal expedition was that of the nineteen Satsuma officers in 1865, a year in which several groups escaped to Britain. Comprising mainly students of the newly-opened *Kaiseijo* college<sup>c</sup> of western studies in Kagoshima, fourteen of these students also studied at UCL. At thirteen years old, Nagasawa Kanae<sup>d</sup> was considered too young to enrol and was sent to a school in Aberdeen. The party included Godai Tomoatsu who had planned and coordinated the expedition, and Matsuki Kōan who quickly opened a diplomatic dialogue with the Foreign Office on Satsuma's behalf, and who went on to become Minister of Foreign Affairs under the name of Terashima Munenori.<sup>e</sup> Godai and two others toured the industrial heartland of Britain before visiting Belgium, Prussia and France where he explored the possibility of an ultimately ill-fated commercial contract with Montblanc. The order they placed with Platt & Co of Manchester for steam-weaving machinery, however, did result in the establishment of Japan's first ever modern weaving factory in Kagoshima in 1866.

By the summer of 1866, only eight of the Satsuma students remained in Europe, primarily due to lack of financial support from their *han*. Of these, two had moved to Paris where they continued their studies under Montblanc's wing until 1868. The remaining six in Britain all fell under the influence of the Scottish politician, Laurence Oliphant. On his advice, they left for America in 1867 to join a radical new Christian commune founded by Thomas Lake Harris, a mystical preacher of Swedenborgian background with ambitions to spread his creed to Japan. After the overthrow of the *bakufu*, they returned to employ their rare experience in the service of the Meiji government with the one exception of Nagasawa who went on to live out his days as a successful vineyard owner in California.<sup>3</sup>

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a. 井上馨、伊藤博文

b. 遠藤謹助、山尾庸三、井上勝

c. 開成所

d. 長沢鼎

e. 五代友厚、松本弘安（寺島宗則）

Two other groups of students escaped overseas in 1865. Three Chōshū officers left from Shimonoseki and reached Britain via Shanghai.<sup>4</sup> One of them, Takeda Yōjirō,<sup>a</sup> studied in Aberdeen and is thought to have returned to Japan before the fall of the *bakufu*. The other two, Minami Teisuke and Yamazaki Kosaburō,<sup>b</sup> spent the winter in London without enough money for food and heating, resulting in Yamazaki's death of consumption the following March at the age of 23. Also in 1865, Ishimaru Toragorō and Mawatari Hachirō<sup>c</sup> from Hizen (Saga) embarked from Nagasaki together with Nomura Fumio from Aki (Hiroshima) and studied in Aberdeen.<sup>5</sup> The two Hizen officers went on to pursue their studies in London and all three are known to have attended the Paris Exposition in 1867.<sup>6</sup> Nomura then returned to Japan while Ishimaru and Mawatari remained in London until midway through 1868.<sup>7</sup>

In early 1866, Nire Kagenori<sup>d</sup> led a second Satsuma expedition which left from Nagasaki and arrived in London. They then continued their journey to the United States and remained there until after the fall of the *bakufu*.<sup>8</sup> Later in 1866, two sons of the renowned scholar, Yokoi Shōnan,<sup>e</sup> also left for the United States from Nagasaki in what was to be the last example of an illegal escape before the ban on overseas travel was lifted in June the same year.

According to *sakoku* law, the penalty for leaving the country without *bakufu* permission was death, and the pains that *mikkōsha* took in order to avoid detection before their departure amply display the perceived need for secrecy. The Satsuma students who left for Britain in 1865 were all furnished with assumed names and, if challenged, could produce written orders showing they were bound for the nearby island of Koshiki on a tour of inspection.<sup>9</sup> Later that year, the ship that Ishimaru, Mawatari and Nomura boarded in Nagasaki was prevented from leaving port by bad weather, and they felt compelled to spend the daylight hours hidden in the hold before making good their escape the next day.<sup>10</sup>

Whether or not execution would actually have followed discovery in cases like these is arguable. Yoshida Shōin, for example, had seemed destined for harsh treatment in 1854 until Sakuma Shōzan<sup>f</sup> had interceded on his behalf and managed to have his sentence commuted to a prison term, eventually lasting

a. 竹田庸次郎  
b. 南貞助、山崎小三郎  
c. 石丸虎五郎、馬渡八郎

d. 仁礼景範  
e. 横井小楠  
f. 佐久間象山

three years. The only known example of a fatality resulting from a failed attempt to escape occurred in Nagasaki in early 1866, but not at the hands of the *bakufu* authorities. Kondō Chōjirō<sup>a</sup> from Tosa was, like the *mikkōsha* from Hizen and Aki before him, held up by the weather conditions, but was discovered by Tosa compatriots in the *Kameyama Shachū*<sup>b</sup> organisation and forced to commit *seppuku* for betraying his comrades.<sup>11</sup>

At the point of embarkation, therefore, illegal travel while the *bakufu* ban still existed was certainly considered a dangerous matter. Having made their escape, some *mikkōsha* also felt it necessary to avoid detection by *bakufu* representatives in Europe. In July 1864, the three remaining Chōshū students in London 'appeared to be in considerable alarm about the Taikun's ambassadors (the Ikeda mission) who were expected to arrive shortly in this country, and appeared much relieved upon learning that they were to return to Japan'. According to their English informant on the matter, 'they would get into great trouble, were they discovered by the Taikun's men in Europe, having left their country secretly and in disguise'.<sup>12</sup>

Fear of detection appears to have progressively paled during the decade, reflecting an increasing awareness of the *bakufu*'s inability to enforce the ban on overseas travel. Godai Tomoatsu, for example, actively sought out Shibata Takenaka and his *bakufu* party in 1865, while Mori Arinori declared in his diary the following year that one reason for travelling to Russia was to meet the *bakufu* students there.<sup>13</sup> In 1867, Kawaji Tarō,<sup>c</sup> the director of the *bakufu* students in Britain, recorded how Mori visited him at his London hotel after reading of their arrival in the newspaper.<sup>14</sup> In the same year, Ishimaru and Mawatari from Hizen even gained an introduction to the Foreign Office through members of Tokugawa Akitake's party in Paris, and arrangements were made with the War Office for them to visit Woolwich Arsenal on 10 September together with the *bakufu* students.<sup>15</sup> Whether out of fear of adverse publicity, a lack of authority overseas, or a feeling that the course of events was fast outstripping the finer points of *sakoku* law, *bakufu* officials looked on *mikkōshas*' indiscretions with less severity than they might have exercised in Japan.

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a. 近藤長次郎

b. 龜山社中

c. 川路太郎

There remains the question of what punishment, if any, was administered to *mikkōsha* on their return to Japan. Although those from Chōshū and Satsuma could return to their homelands with impunity, this was perhaps not the case in other *han* which had closer ties with the *bakufu*. In mid-1868, long after overseas travel had become legal, for example, Ishimaru and Mawatari lingered in Shanghai on their way back to Japan, waiting for reassurance that it was safe to return, and they were placed under house arrest when they arrived in Nagasaki.<sup>16</sup> This arose from the fact that the Nabeshima family in Hizen had, for generations, held responsibility for the security of Nagasaki harbour. Nabeshima Naomasa<sup>a</sup> publicly disclaimed all knowledge of *mikkōsha* from his *han*, although he was eventually persuaded to condone their escape in private.<sup>17</sup> A comparable example was the case of the Yokoi brothers from Higo who escaped from Nagasaki in 1866, but did not receive the approval of their *han* until the ban on overseas travel was revoked shortly afterwards.

A feature common to all these groups of *mikkōsha* was the collaborative role played by Europeans and Americans in the treaty ports in paving the way not only for their escape overseas but also for their studies thereafter. The individual involved at the planning stage often influenced their destination. The most prominent of these was undoubtedly Thomas Blake Glover, the Scottish merchant in Nagasaki who enabled no less than 25 men from Satsuma, Chōshū, Hizen and Aki to escape to Britain during the course of 1865. It was he who, together with Godai Tomoatsu, had developed the plan for a Satsuma party to Britain, and it was a Glover & Co steamship, the *Australain* [sic], that picked them up in Hashima Bay off the Satsuma coast. Glover also arranged for the students to meet Laurence Oliphant in London, and it fell to his brother James and his agent, Ryle Holme, to set about planning their education in London.<sup>18</sup> Contrary to popular belief, the escape of Itō Hirobumi and four other Chōshū students in 1863 was not Glover's work, although he may well have been aware of the plan as it involved colleagues in his former company, Jardine Matheson & Co. Their passage from Yokohama was arranged by S. J. Gower, Jardine Matheson's representative there, and it was Hugh Matheson in London who arranged for Professor Williamson of University College to manage their studies.<sup>19</sup>

Nevertheless, Glover certainly orchestrated the second Chōshū party, enabling

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a. 鍋島直正

Minami, Takeda and Yamazaki of Chōshū to escape from Shimonoseki in 1865, and also that of Ishimaru, Mawatari and Nomura from Nagasaki later that year. In the latter case, he even promised to cover the Hizen students' expenses.<sup>20</sup> A few months later, he was again involved in Kondō Chōjirō's fatal attempt to escape overseas. As a result of his activities, his home town of Aburatsubo became a regular destination for *mikkōsha*. By early 1866, there were five Japanese students staying in the city, as compared with nine in London and one in Glasgow. The second Satsuma expedition in 1866, however, was arranged by the American merchant Robinet, and the Yokoi brothers from Higo also found their way to the United States through the help of the Dutch-American preacher, Guido Verbeck.

#### The introduction of passport travel

On 23 May 1866, the *bakufu* government finally bowed to foreign pressure and rescinded the long-standing ban on overseas travel.<sup>1</sup> This ushered in an age of passport travel in which any individual who specified either study or commerce as their aim could apply for permission to venture overseas to countries who had exchanged treaties with Japan. Shortly afterwards, pressure from foreign representatives for concessions following the postponement of the opening of the treaty port of Hyōgo resulted in the tariff convention signed on 25 June. According to Article X, it was now permitted to 'travel to any foreign country for purposes of study or trade'.<sup>2</sup> At first, the changed conditions did not make an immense impact on the number of Japanese travelling overseas. There was no distinct wave of students as such, although several *han* from all over the country took advantage of this new opportunity to send a number of small-scale expeditions abroad. Although most of these were sent by *han* in western Japan, this region no longer held the near monopoly on independent expeditions that had prevailed during the height of the *mikkō* expeditions of the mid-1860s.

The legalisation of overseas travel, however, did not diminish Thomas Glover's appetite for flouting the rules. In late 1866, his plans to send 'the Japanese Hionosuke and two others to Hong Kong and England' incurred the wrath of the *bakufu* authorities when he allowed them to leave without official permission. The governors of Nagasaki complained: 'We should have been willing to grant them a passport but we found that they are not here'.<sup>3</sup>

The dominant feature at the start of this new age of passport travel was the great interest shown in the Paris Exposition of 1867. Diplomats, students, merchants and circus artists alike flocked to the exhibition. Three Japanese delegations participated, sent by the *bakufu*, Satsuma and Hizen, displaying and selling substantial quantities of Japanese goods. The *bakufu* and Hizen stalls were adjacent, but the Satsuma pavilion was placed some distance away, and Montblanc's efforts to publicize the importance of Satsuma through the French press, and by striking a commemorative medal, provoked considerable tension between the three parties. In spite of the interest they attracted at the exhibition, none of the Japanese delegations came near to realising a return on their investment and were left with the problem of disposing of numerous unsold goods. The Hizen party managed to turn the problem into a business opportunity by concluding a trade contract with the '*Jishiman*' firm,<sup>a</sup> an international trade company based on the Rue de Lafayette. This provided for the future retail sale of Arita pottery in Europe, a plan that was frustrated by '*Jishiman*'s bankruptcy shortly afterwards.<sup>4</sup>

Besides the three official delegations, the largest groups of Japanese at the exhibition were two troupes of circus artists. These are said to have provided the inspiration for the Japanese artistes that appear in Chapter 23 of Jules Verne's *Around the World in Eighty Days*.<sup>5</sup> Registered as travelling for commercial purposes, such circus troupes were a new development of the age of passport travel. The first such troupe of sixteen performers under Matsui Gensui<sup>b</sup> travelled to London in late 1866 and made its overseas debut there the following February.<sup>6</sup> *The Times* reported that the women in this troupe were the first to have ever left Japan. Although unrecorded in any written documents, however, photographs taken in Paris prove that the 1864 Ikeda mission included three Japanese women in its suite.<sup>7</sup> These were perhaps kept from view, much like the Lady Kuo who accompanied the first Chinese embassy to Europe in 1876 and never once took a seat on deck.<sup>8</sup>

#### Overseas travel in the early Meiji years.

Following the overthrow of the Tokugawa Shogunate, there was at first a noticeable drop in the number of Japanese students venturing overseas, largely due to the sense of unease prevalent during the civil war. When news of the

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a. ザシマン

b. 松井源水

Tokugawa régime's demise reached Europe and America, the considerable number of *bakufu* diplomats and students still there in the aftermath of the Paris Exposition all made their way back to Japan as best they could.<sup>1</sup> Many of those sent by various *han* also hurried back believing that their services might be required during the civil war. As fighting continued into 1869, many *han* shelved thoughts of sending students abroad and concentrated their resources on the war effort. More students, for example, went overseas during 1867 than in 1868 and 1869 combined.<sup>2</sup>

The cessation of internal hostilities in 1869 proved to be an important watershed in the Japanese pursuit of overseas knowledge, presaging a boom in the number of students sent abroad. The civil war had served to divert the resources of the *han* away from overseas investigations just at a time when the importance of western studies was finally becoming recognised on most political levels throughout the country. Fukuzawa Yukichi's *Seiyō Jijō* and other introductory works on western civilization were being distributed to wide acclaim, marking the onset of the age of *bunmei kaika*, the Japanese enlightenment.

The Meiji government's keen awareness of the necessity for overseas research was also an important factor in stimulating interest in foreign travel. The Charter Oath of 1868 itself contained the exhortation that 'knowledge shall be sought throughout the world'.<sup>3</sup> In the same year, Ōkubō Toshimichi<sup>a</sup> wrote that each noble family should send a party of three or four, and that each *han* should send seven or eight officers to study in Britain, a state of affairs that was soon to become a reality.<sup>4</sup>

An important feature of the resulting wave of Japanese students was the increasing variety of academic subjects many of them studied. While overseas students in the mid-1860s had often been intended by the authorities that sent them to return to Japan primarily as naval experts and doctors, sweeping institutional reforms in Japan created a perceived need for research into areas of knowledge relating to all aspects of provincial and central government administration. As a result, a number of *han* devoted great efforts in researching the possibility of internal reform during a brief period of

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a. 大久保利通

uninhibited exploration before they were abolished altogether.

This boom of overseas students was thus the result of a period of unusually high receptivity to innovation. Secondly, it arose from the fact that the individual *han* had survived the civil war intact, so that there remained a number of independent provincial treasuries with the resources to fund various expeditions of students, just as the importance of western learning was gaining broadly based recognition throughout the country. Thirdly, with the civil war over, the central government also began to plan expeditions of students selected from the ranks of its new ministries or from the élite of the fledgling education system in the the South and East schools of the *Daigakkō* college,<sup>a</sup> the forerunner of Tokyo University.

Lastly, study abroad was a matter of great expense in an era of unfavourable exchange rates, and became a fashionable pastime of the wealthy, stimulated by official exhortations to promote knowledge of civilized western countries among the ruling classes. For younger *daimyō* and other aristocratic members of the *monbatsu* class,<sup>b</sup> a time spent abroad became as essential a part of education as the European Grand Tour had been for the young Englishman. In a letter to his father in 1871, for example, Nabeshima Naohiro,<sup>c</sup> the last *daimyō* of Hizen, requested permission to study abroad, declaring that he wished to see for himself 'the state of affairs in the enlightened civilizations of the West'.<sup>5</sup> Such an attitude was in stark contrast to the prevailing opinion in China where having to deal with foreigners at all was still considered a disgrace by high-ranking bureaucrats.<sup>6</sup> It was this receptivity to western ideas in Japan that resulted in privately funded students bearing aristocratic names such as Iwakura, Nabeshima and Hachisuka following courses at Oxford and Cambridge universities.

Viewed en masse, the regional breakdown of all these students was much more evenly distributed than had been the case in the previous decade. More students from *han* such as Kaga, Tokuyama, Tokushima and Chikuzen could now be found abroad. Tosa, for example, had not sent many officers abroad before the end of the Tokugawa régime, but now made great efforts to increase its own experience of conditions in the West. A number of Tosa students such as Nakae Chōmin and

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a. 大 学 校

b. 門 閥

c. 鍋 島 直 大



Baba Tatsui<sup>a</sup> were later closely identified with the rise of the campaign for liberal rights in Japan. Hizen sent some large groups of students overseas in 1870 and 1871 as part of the most ambitious single scheme by any one *han* since the 1865 Satsuma expedition to Britain. These expeditions are thought to have been largely the work of Etō Shinpei,<sup>b</sup> who was actively preparing the ground for far-reaching internal reforms in Hizen.

By contrast, Chōshū and Satsuma sent somewhat fewer students overseas after the overthrow of the *bakufu*. This partly reflects the fact that overseas travellers from these two *han* in the early Meiji years were frequently financed by central government. It is intriguing to see how closely *hanbatsu*<sup>c</sup> interests influenced the selection of government-sponsored overseas students from different ministries during this period. It was no coincidence, for example, that students sent by the Ministry of Military Affairs (*Hyōbushō*)<sup>d</sup> often hailed from Chōshū and Satsuma. Many of the students sent by the Ministry of Finance (*Ōkurashō*)<sup>e</sup> were originally from Chōshū and Hizen. In addition to students, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (*Gaimushō*)<sup>f</sup> began to send resident diplomats overseas. Terashima Munenori, Mori Arinori and Sameshima Naonobu,<sup>g</sup> the first Japanese ministers abroad, were all from Satsuma. As their legations in Europe and America became more established during the 1870s, the number of diplomatic staff they employed gradually increased.

The government also began to send several investigation parties overseas during the early Meiji years. Saigō Tsugumichi, Yamagata Aritomo and Nakamura Hiroyoshi<sup>h</sup> were among the first such parties, sent to Europe in 1869 to investigate military organisation. A year later, Ōyama Iwao, Shinagawa Yajirō, Hayashi Yūzō and Nakahama Manjirō were sent by the *Hyōbushō* to observe the progress of the Franco-Prussian conflict, while Maejima Hisoka was sent to London where he investigated the structure of the British postal system.<sup>i</sup> In May 1871, an expedition of 23 participants drawn together from thirteen different *han* toured the United States, Britain, Germany and France. Some of them, such as Kataoka Kenkichi and Yamanaka Ichirō,<sup>j</sup> chose to remain in Britain and France as students.

Sizeable though this party was, it pales in comparison with the scale of the

- a. 中江兆民、馬場辰猪
- b. 江藤新平
- c. 藩閥
- d. 兵部省
- e. 大蔵省

- f. 外務省
- g. 鯨島尚信
- h. 西郷従道、山県有朋、中村博愛
- i. 大山巖、品川弥次郎、林有造、前島密
- j. 片岡健吉、山中一郎

Iwakura embassy. This project involved more than 100 participants including those who followed on shortly afterwards, and of this total, more than 40 were students, several of them from aristocratic families. The party left for the United States in November 1871 on a grand tour of the western world including extensive stays in Britain, France, Prussia and Russia, before arriving back in Japan in 1873. While the diplomatic agenda was dominated by unsuccessful negotiations over the revision of the unequal treaties, some government ministries also sent research teams with the embassy to prepare reports on their observations overseas.

This embassy was notable for the seniority of rank not only of the grand ambassador, Iwakura Tomomi, but also of the various government officials in the party such as Ōkubo Toshimichi, Kido Takayoshi and Itō Hirobumi.<sup>a</sup> In practice, Iwakura's own retinue comprised an increasingly small party as successive groups broke away to follow up their own separate agenda. During the course of an extended stay in Britain, Iwakura and his party were able, in contrast to the shorter *bakufu* missions before them, to undertake an exhaustive schedule of visits, including a tour of the industrial north. This comprehensive itinerary was also partly the result of the enthusiasm shown by their hosts to exhibit all the latest Victorian technical innovations.<sup>7</sup>

The Iwakura embassy marked the peak of a period that can be thought of as a rush for overseas knowledge in the aftermath of the civil war, as *han* and central government alike sent sizeable student parties to Europe and the United States. The Ministry of Education (*Monbushō*)<sup>b</sup> calculated in 1871 that there were 107 students in Britain alone.<sup>8</sup> This boom was to be curtailed by the abolition of the *han* through the *haihan chiken* act<sup>c</sup> of 14 July 1871 which removed at one stroke the independent regional treasuries that had funded so many separate expeditions. Scores of students were left abroad bereft of funding, and responsibility for their studies passed from the separate *han* to the *Monbushō*. The question naturally arose of what to do with the many students overseas, and how to regulate their activities in the future.

One of the tasks undertaken by the Iwakura embassy was a survey of overseas students. During their stay in the United States in February 1872, a committee

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a. 岩倉具視、木戸孝允

b. 文部省

c. 廃藩置縣

of twelve was arranged to accomplish the task. The advice offered by Mori Arinori and Terashima Munenori, the Japanese ministers in Washington and London, was particularly influential, and Itō Hirobumi and Terashima met in London in October of the same year to draft new regulations for overseas studies. New directives for students were already being issued in late 1872, but it was not until the end of 1873 that the finalised regulations, with some 25 clauses, actually came into effect.<sup>a</sup>

These enforced a strict selection procedure ensuring that students in future would be selected from the élite at the *Kaisei Gakkō* college and the *Kōbu Daigakkō*, the new Imperial College of Engineering.<sup>a</sup> The cost of supporting students overseas had at one stage accounted for as much as 21% of the entire *Monbushō* budget, but this was now reduced to a fraction of that amount. In order to achieve this reduction in costs, many of the students abroad were ordered to return to Japan during the course of 1873.

The ramifications of these new regulations took a while to become apparent. Although the number of students abroad did decrease as a result, the total number of Japanese travellers overseas was not drastically affected over the short term. The government, for example, had sent a sizeable party to the Vienna exhibition in 1873, and many of those who participated took advantage of the opportunity to tour other countries in Europe. In the same year, senior naval officials such as Kawamura Sumiyoshi and Nakamuta Kuranosuke<sup>b</sup> were also making tours of inspection in Europe and the United States. The post-Iwakura embassy period was also one in which Japanese legations abroad were expanding and taking on more diplomatic staff. Furthermore, the *Monbushō* policy of ordering students back to Japan proved to be more far-reaching on paper than in practice.

Nevertheless, by 1876, the revised pattern of Japanese studies overseas had finally taken shape. The number of students abroad had been whittled down to a fraction of those in 1871 or 1872. There was now a controlled turn-over of government-sponsored students selected from an academic élite trained in Tokyo. These were often quite advanced in their specialist fields before they even set foot in Europe or America, and betrayed less of the cultural naivety so apparent

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a. 開成学校、工部大学校

b. 川村純義、中牟田倉之助

in many of the Japanese travellers who had ventured overseas before them. At this stage, therefore, the sometimes spontaneous and often disorganised rush for overseas knowledge of the previous decade was effectively over. The large *bakufu* delegations, the illegal escapes of *mikkōsha*, the introduction of passport travel and the subsequent rush of students abroad all gave way instead to a more stable pattern of overseas research centred on trained specialists selected by the central government, a format that was to continue with only minor variation throughout the Meiji period and into the twentieth century.

Olive Checkland has suggested that 'Japanese students in Britain can usefully if arbitrarily be divided into two groups: those who came before 1880 and those who came after'. She notes that pre-1880 students had many difficulties: 'Their English may not have been good and their education in Japan may not have been comprehensive'.<sup>10</sup> After analysing the *Monbushō* educational reforms of the 1870s, Ishizuki Minoru chose 1873 as the significant watershed separating the overseas students of the early Meiji years from those who followed after.<sup>11</sup> With respect to the Japanese in Britain, the changes Ishizuki describes had certainly begun to exert an effect on the composition of students there from 1873 onwards, but these only became broadly representative from around 1876, by which time the majority of those who had figured in the boom of the early 1870s had finally left the country. Although not radically different from Checkland's analysis, 1876 has thus been selected as the most appropriate year in which to conclude this study of the Japanese experience in Britain during the late Tokugawa and early Meiji period.

#### The numbers of Japanese overseas travellers in the 1860s and 1870s

The task of calculating the number of Japanese in Britain or in any other western country during the nineteenth century has yet to be comprehensively and reliably addressed. Verifying the identities and duration of stays abroad of those Japanese who travelled overseas during the 1860s and 1870s involves careful collation of diverse primary source material and, to date, has been almost exclusively the preserve of research in Japanese. Tracing material relating to so many travellers' activities abroad, however, has naturally been beyond the scope of any single researcher in Japan. Documents are distributed throughout the country and, whereas the publications or biographies of noted

travellers have long been known of, the private papers of other travellers have remained scattered in archives or in the hands of descendants, and are still only gradually coming to light more than 100 years after the events they describe. Recently, different researchers have rediscovered a number of travellers' diaries and their resulting publication in transliterated form has allowed an attempt at a previously impossible depth of analysis in examining these early Japanese experiences abroad.<sup>1</sup>

An important work in drawing together separate research has been Ishizuki Minoru's *Kindai Nihon no Kaigai Ryūgaku-shi* [*History of Modern Japanese Studies Overseas*],<sup>a</sup> published in 1972. This included a first attempt at listing the students who ventured overseas during the 1860s. Six years later, Watanabe Minoru produced a substantial work on a similar theme under the title of *Kindai Nihon Kaigai Ryūgakusei-shi* [*History of Modern Japan's Students Overseas*].<sup>b</sup> This added more detail on a number of travellers drawn together from various independent research. In 1987, Inuzuka Takaaki compiled a radically improved list of overseas students from 1862 to 1871 in his *Meiji Ishin Taigai Kankei-shi Kenkyū* [*Study of Japanese Overseas Relations during the Early Meiji Reforms*].<sup>c</sup> This draws on such a diverse combination of source material that, excepting the occasional discovery of unlisted and hitherto overlooked individuals such as Murata Kametarō of Tsuwano<sup>d</sup> who studied medicine in Holland in 1868, the movements of many early Japanese travellers in the West can now be said to have been reliably traced.<sup>2</sup>

In addition, two dictionaries of Japanese overseas travellers have recently been produced. When it was published in 1985, *Umi o Koeta Nihon Jinmei Jiten* [*Dictionary of Japanese who Crossed the Sea*]<sup>e</sup> invited criticism for inaccuracies which were inevitable for such an ambitious project, but has proved to be an invaluable tool of research. This was followed in 1992 by *Bakumatsu Meiji Kaigai Tokōsha Sōran* [*Tables of Overseas Travellers in the Bakumatsu and Meiji Periods*]<sup>f</sup> which used computer technology to create a range of indexes in three volumes, but failed to draw together many details acquired in more recent studies. While the resulting database is a welcome departure in this field of research, substantial revision will be required before it can realise its potential as a reference work.

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- a. 石附実著『近代日本の留学史』
  - b. 渡辺実著『近代日本海外留学生史』
  - c. 犬塚孝明著『明治維新対外関係史研究』
  - d. 村田亀太郎
  - e. 『海を越えた日本人名事典』
  - f. 『幕末明治海外渡航者総覧』

Due to the research of scholars such as Ishizuki and Inuzuka, however, it has become possible to chart with a reasonable degree of accuracy the movements of all Japanese students who ventured overseas between 1862 and 1871 including the country of destination and duration of stay. (Fig. 1). This chart demonstrates in sharp relief some of the salient features of these first waves of Japanese travellers. It clearly shows the impact that the civil war had on overseas students and the sharp increase in their numbers following the cessation of hostilities in Japan. Other features to be found relating to individual countries include the decline in the importance of *rangaku*. Holland, the country with most Japanese students during the early 1860s, had almost none by the end of the decade. In contrast, the impact on the age of the *mikkōsha* exerted by figures like Glover in Nagasaki is clearly evident in the increasing numbers of students to be found in Britain during the mid-1860s. By the end of the decade, the United States was emerging as the most popular destination, followed closely by Britain, while Prussian military success against France is thought to have been partially responsible for the sudden emergence of Japanese students in Berlin.

Another significant result to be derived from the above information is an indication of the number of students sent overseas by each *han* (Table 1). The southwestern *han* figure prominently, especially Satsuma, Hizen and Chōshū. Here it must be stressed that all these features relate only to overseas students, a group drawn almost exclusively from the *samurai* class and whose details are thus comparatively easy to trace. Those who travelled overseas on *bakufu* and Meiji government missions came from the same social background, and records relating to such expeditions have also been examined closely enough to enable a reliable understanding of their movements. These can be superimposed over the graph of Japanese students to arrive at a presentation of all Japanese overseas travellers from the ruling *samurai* class between 1862 and 1871 (Fig. 2). The extent to which the 1867 Paris Exposition attracted travellers from Japan in the second year of passport travel is immediately apparent.

Although not impossible, any further attempts to quantify the Japanese overseas by taking into account other categories of traveller such as circus artists and merchants would certainly be a perilous undertaking at this stage. Nevertheless,

Fig. 1

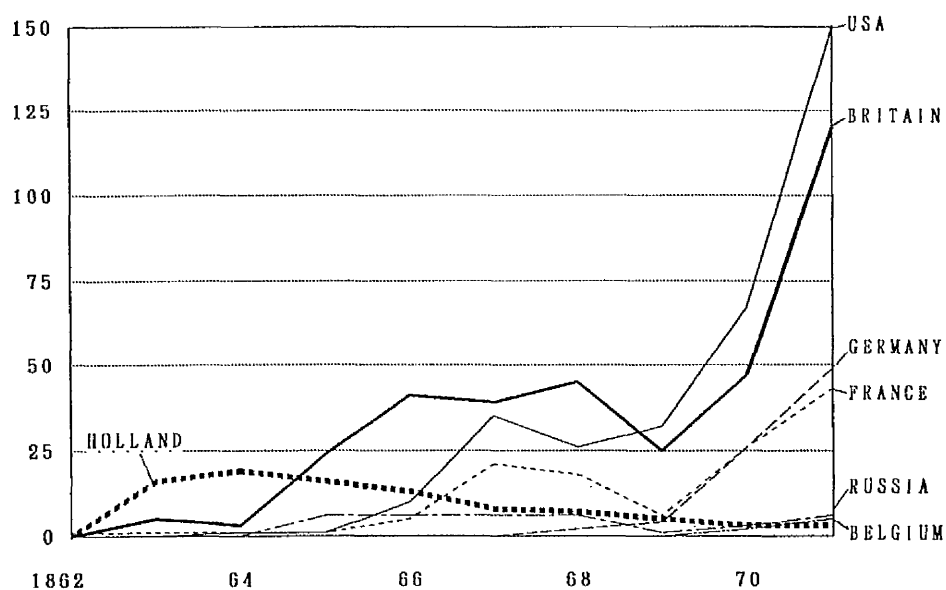
*Japanese Overseas Students 1862-71*

Table 1

*Students Sent Overseas by Han 1863-71*

han	Britain	U. S. A.	Germany	France	Holland	Russia	tot.
Satsuma	17	13	2	2	0	0	27
Hizen	15	1	6	5	0	1	25
Chōshū	11	5	2	3	1	0	23
Kaga	6	0	0	3	2	1	12
Sadowara	0	6	1	1	0	0	8
Tosa	7	2	1	0	1	0	8
Chikuzen	0	6	1	0	2	0	7
Owari	0	4	2	0	0	0	6
Tokushima	2	4	0	0	0	0	6
Echizen	1	4	0	0	0	0	5
Sendai	0	4	0	0	0	0	4
Hiroshima	4	0	0	0	0	0	4
total	63	49	15	14	6	2	-

Note: 1) han that sent fewer than four students have been omitted

2) a number of students received lessons in more than one country

Sources for Tables and Illustrations on pages 32, 33 and 34

Ishizuki Minoru, *Kindai Nihon no Kaigai Ryūgaku-shi*

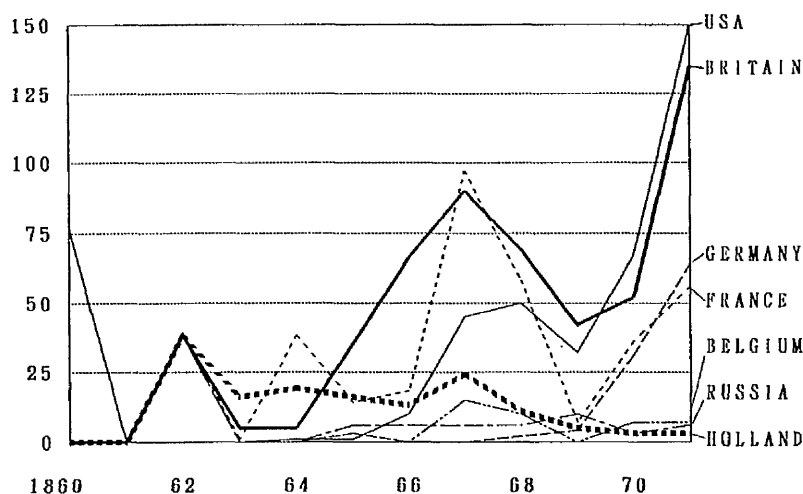
Inuzuka Takaaki, *Meiji Ishin Taigai Kankei-shi Kenkyū*

Umi o Koeta Nihon Jinmei Jiten, *Bakumatsu Meiji Kaigai Tokōsha Sōran*,

Passport Records; 'Kōkai Jin Meisai Hyō',

'Kaigai yuki Jinmei Hyō', 'Meiji 9 nen Kaigai yuki Menjo Hyō'

Fig. 2 *Japanese Overseas Travellers 1860-71*



this may gradually become feasible by first of all focusing on source material relating to one particular country. This study, for example, draws together enough documentation to provide an indication of the overall numbers of Japanese in Britain between 1862 and 1876.

Together with existing Japanese research, primary sources from passport records to diaries and letters, and English documents like university entrance records, can all be drawn upon to arrive at a list of all Japanese travellers known to have been in Britain during this period. This gives a tentative total figure of 549. The months and years in which they left Japan are well documented, especially in passport records, and this allows the compilation of a graph showing the number of arrivals in Britain in each year of the period in question (Fig. 3). These figures also include not only those travellers who were to be based in Britain, but others such as Akamatsu Taisaburō, Uchida Masao and Enomoto Takeaki<sup>a</sup> who took leave from their studies in Holland to

a. 赤松大三元、内田正雄、榎本武揚



Fig. 3 *Arrivals of Japanese in Britain 1862-76*

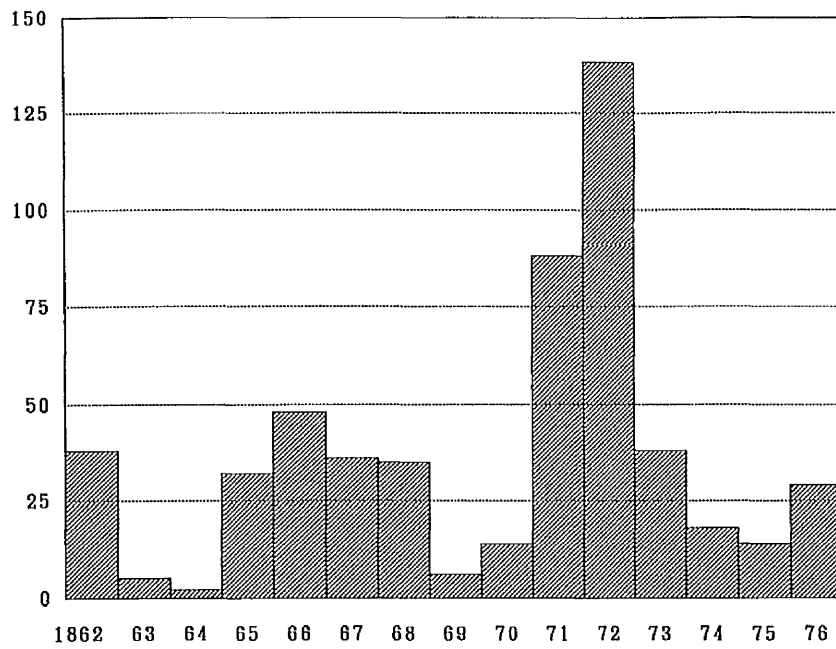
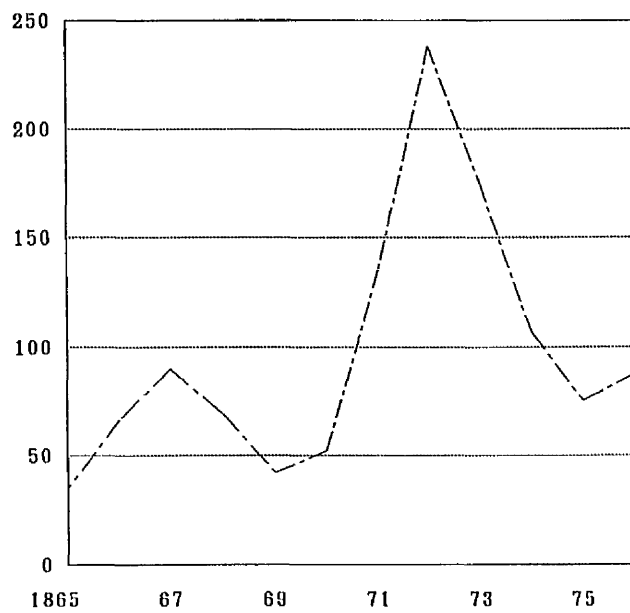


Fig. 4 *Numbers of Japanese in Britain 1865-76*



spend a month in Britain in 1864, the *bakufu* students bound for Russia who spent two weeks in Plymouth in early 1866, and those members of the *bakufu*, Satsuma and Hizen delegations who travelled to Britain after the Paris Exposition. In addition, the figures include those in the Iwakura embassy who arrived via the United States, significantly swelling the numbers of Japanese in Britain during the second half of 1872.

After the revocation of the ban on overseas travel in 1866, it becomes more difficult to estimate how many Japanese were in Britain at any one time. This is because there is no known recorded date of return for 104 out of the total of 549 Japanese known to have been in Britain during the period. Here I have attributed arbitrary durations of stay to these cases (six months for circus artists, one year for students), surmised from the average duration of stay of travellers with more detailed records. The resulting graph thus contains a margin of error proportionate to these cases, but nevertheless allows a significantly accurate impression of the number of Japanese in Britain at any one time during these years (Fig. 4).

It is instructive to compare the numbers of Japanese travellers with those from other Asian countries. Visitors from India, for example, differed primarily in the colonial relationship they held with Britain. They arrived, to varying degrees, in the role of subjects visiting the centre of an empire that already controlled the pattern of education and administration in India. 'The growth of an Indian student population in Britain', writes Lahiri, 'was in many respects an inevitable accompaniment of the imperial process'.<sup>3</sup> The first Indian student is thought to have perhaps arrived in Britain in 1843. Towards the end of the nineteenth century, the numbers of Indian students grew rapidly, most of them training in law, medicine or for the Indian civil service. In 1873, however, there were still only 40 to 50 in the country. During the boom in overseas travel during the early Meiji years, therefore, travellers from Japan formed the largest non-occidental population yet to have emerged in Britain.<sup>4</sup>

Partly through the British presence in ports like Singapore and Hong Kong, there were certainly some Chinese already in Britain by the time the Japanese arrived in the 1860s. At government level in China, however, there was still a

disinclination to take advantage of the opportunities for overseas travel that the age of steam presented, and only a handful of students or diplomats visited Britain during the 1860s and 1870s. The first official overseas mission arrived in 1866. Students were first sent overseas by the Chinese government during the early 1870s. While 120 students, mainly poor boys from Canton, were sent to the United States between 1871 and 1881, only a handful arrived in Britain and France. They were selected from among Foochow arsenal personnel to further their military education, but underfunding resulted in their recall. In the context of overseas investigations, the Chinese discovery of the West thus lagged behind that of Japan, and when China launched a full-scale overseas student programme after the Sino-Japanese war it was to Japan they were sent. It is an indication of the pace at which western ideas were diffused during the Meiji period that, for these Chinese students, 'the objective was not to learn about Japan but to learn about the West through Japan'.<sup>5</sup>

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The Japanese in Britain in the early years of overseas travel came from a variety of backgrounds and affiliations. They initially featured *bakufu* representatives, then illegal *mikkōsha* from the southwestern *han*, and with the onset of passport travel in 1866, were increasingly drawn from provinces throughout Japan. These were years of turbulent political change in Japan, and their numbers fell during the civil war, only to be followed by an unprecedented rush for knowledge in the early Meiji years as various disparate groups of students and inspection parties were sent abroad. This boom was curtailed, however, by the abolition of the *han* and the resulting imposition of *Monbushō* regulations that, by 1876, had severely reduced the numbers of Japanese in Britain.

Regardless of their contrasting political backgrounds, the first Japanese travellers to arrive in Victorian Britain found a society quite beyond their own cultural experience under Tokugawa rule. The long-standing *sakoku* laws may not have completely sealed the country off from trade and contact with the outside world during the Edo period, and ships from far and wide within the East Asian economic world certainly had access to Japanese markets through Nagasaki,

Tsushima and Kagoshima. Nevertheless, the culture of *sakoku* certainly constrained the development of Japanese understanding of civilization in the West during a period in which rapid scientific, social and intellectual advances were being made in Europe. A Japanese appetite for knowledge from outside the Chinese cultural world, however, was already apparent in the growth of *rangaku* during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Given the opportunity to venture abroad following the opening of the treaty ports, the rapid rise in the number of Japanese travellers during the 1860s and 1870s revealed an increasingly broad awareness of the need to investigate the unexplored lands and cultures of Europe and America.

This boom in overseas studies surpassed in intensity anything yet seen in other Asian societies. In India, knowledge of the West had been imposed from above, introduced to a subject population by successive colonial forces. In China, official belief in the impregnability of the Confucian world order survived interruptions like the Opium war and delayed the inconvenience of overseas travel, however much European diplomats insisted this was a necessary part of contemporary international relations. The first Japanese missions were also prompted by foreign diplomats, but the information borne by returning participants was eagerly awaited in many quarters, and the impetus they gave to overseas travel was immediate. Such a reaction was partly due to the existence in Japan of a unique intellectual tradition of research relating to the western world. This tradition of *tansaku* investigations had become increasingly concerned with the growing power of Britain in East Asia during the early nineteenth century. In the next chapter, it will be seen how this intellectual background was to become a central factor in conditioning Japanese travellers' preconceptions of Britain, and their perceptions of the Victorian world as they developed during the 1860s and 1870s.

## Chapter Two: '*Tansaku*' Investigations of Britain

The majority of Japanese visitors to Britain in the 1860s and 1870s, whether travelling on diplomatic missions or as students, thought they were there to investigate. They had ventured abroad to research particular aspects of British society and technology or to study academic disciplines still relatively unknown in Japan. These investigations, or *tansaku*, as they were known, resulted in a considerable volume of records describing their observations of the Victorian world in the form of diaries, government reports, and increasingly in the early Meiji years, in the form of published works introducing aspects of the West to a readership eager for overseas knowledge.

Here I shall first present a survey of the background to this research tradition, and then examine in more detail a selection of particularly influential *tansaku*-style works written in the 1860s and 1870s which encapsulate the development of Japanese understanding of Victorian society. The first of these is *Eikoku Tansaku* [*Investigation of Britain*], researched on *bakufu* instructions by a team of scholars during the 1862 Takenouchi mission and compiled under the supervision of Fukuda Sakutarō<sup>a</sup> on their return. The second is *Seiyō Jijō* [*Conditions in the West*] written shortly afterwards by one of these scholars, Fukuzawa Yukichi, and published in three volumes between 1866 and 1869. The third is *Seiyō Bunken Roku* [*Record of Observations in the West*], a work in eight volumes by Nomura Fumio compiled after returning from an extended stay in Britain as a student and published in 1869-70. The last is *Tokumei Zenken Taishi Bei-Ō Kairan Jikki* [*A True Record of the Special Ambassador's Travels in America and Europe*], the official report of the Iwakura embassy completed by Kume Kunitake in 1876.

Such works marked a new departure in Japanese knowledge of the outside world, compiled as the result of some of the earliest first-hand experiences of travel in the West. At the same time, they owed much in style to older works on the far-away countries of Europe written long before the Japanese ventured overseas themselves. Indeed, the first overseas investigations of the 1860s arose from a gradually accumulating awareness of the need for travel as a means of studying the state of affairs abroad, and not just in response to the exchanging of

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a. 福田作太郎

treaties with the western powers. Before embarking, these early overseas travellers could prepare for their journey by drawing upon a considerable amount of literature already available in Japanese, Chinese and Dutch, filled with information on the world outside. The cultural perspectives of those first conducting *tansaku* investigations in the Victorian world were therefore rooted in the tradition of Japanese research on Britain that had developed during the *sakoku* period.

#### Research on Britain during the *sakoku* period

For much of the Edo period, a Japanese perspective of Britain as such was conspicuous by its absence. Bearing in mind that Tokugawa Ieyasu had listened with curiosity to William Adams' description of his home country in 1600, and that the English East India Company had then gone on to conduct trade at their Hirado factory for ten years, it is remarkable how completely the subject of England disappeared from the Japanese sphere of interest in the seventeenth century.

It was the Nagasaki trade which gave rise to the study of world geography in the Edo period. 46 years after the English left Hirado, Nishi Kichidayū's *Shokoku Miyage Sho* [*Produce of all Nations*] appeared in Nagasaki.<sup>a</sup> This is thought of as 'the first work related to the geography of overseas countries'.<sup>1</sup> *Shokoku Miyage Sho* referred to diverse countries throughout the world visited by Dutch traders. Within Europe, Spain, France, Denmark, Germany were all listed with their locations and distinctive commodities. There was no mention of Britain at all, however, deliberately ignored perhaps by the Dutch in Nagasaki on whom Nishi relied for his information, and who viewed the English East India Company as an increasingly competitive trade rival in Eastern Asia.

The *Return* expedition of 1673 in which the English made a formal request to reopen their trade relations with Japan apparently made little impact on those in Nagasaki with an interest in the outside world. There was still no reference to England when *Iki Shūwa Roku* [*Record of Assorted Tales from Abroad*] appeared as a sequel to *Shokoku Miyage Sho* in 1681.<sup>b</sup> Perhaps the earliest mention of Britain in a Japanese geographical work was in 1695, in Nishikawa Joken's *Kai Tsūshō Kō* [*Study of Commercial Relations with the Chinese and the Barbarians*],<sup>c</sup>

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a. 西吉太夫著「諸国土産書」(1669)

b. 「異域衆話録」(1685)

c. 西川如見著「華夷通商考」(1695)

a work so influential that it was still widely read in the early nineteenth century. This primarily explained the geography of the Chinese world, but referred to some European countries in an appendix, at the end of which England was listed under a section entitled 'countries whose voyages to Japan have been stopped'.

In the early eighteenth century, the Japanese understanding of the European world was expanded by the works of Arai Hakuseki,<sup>a</sup> but these revealed no special concern for information on Britain. Arai drew on works like *Kai Tsūshō Kō* to compile his *Sairan Igen*,<sup>b</sup> which was the most comprehensive geography of the outside world to date.<sup>2</sup> He also had several opportunities to interview Giovanni Battista Sidotti, an Italian Jesuit captured after landing in Japan in 1708, and these enabled him to produce *Seiyō Kibun [Tidings of the West]*<sup>c</sup> in 1715.<sup>3</sup> Arai's knowledge of Dutch was limited, and 'not enough to be able to seriously say he understood the Dutch language'.<sup>4</sup> He was able to interview the Dutch on Dejima with the help of an interpreter and, according to the head of the factory there, enquired about countries throughout Europe, India and elsewhere, but seemed especially interested in information relating to Manila.<sup>5</sup>

Until the late eighteenth century, little concern was shown for news of Britain. It was certainly not in evidence in 1745 when Tokugawa Yoshimune expressed interest in scientific knowledge from the West and ordered scholars such as Noro Genjō and Aoki Konyō to learn the Dutch language.<sup>d</sup> Even in the 1770s, Miura Baien could portray Europeans as belligerent colonialists but without referring to the British at all.<sup>e</sup> Miura studied alone in Kitsuki, and although he could not read Dutch, he was able to conduct the most comprehensive geographical research yet through his wide reading of translated works. In 1784 he wrote that 'Luzon is under the rule of the Spanish...Goa is managed by officials from Portugal...Jakarta is ruled by Holland...Spain has also taken part of America and called it New Spain'. 'When people are found to be defenceless', he added, 'they (Europeans) seize their lands and take their gold, silver, food and clothes'.<sup>6</sup> The overseas activities of Britain, a country which later came to be regarded in Japan as the archetypal example of a predatory colonial power in Asia, were not mentioned at all.

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a. 新井白石  
b. 「采覧異言」  
c. 「西洋紀聞」

d. 野呂玄丈、青木昆陽  
e. 三浦梅園

At this time, there was more concern over the unsettling tidings from Russia. In 1771, Baron von Benyowsky led a revolt of Russian convicts in Kamchatka, stole a ship and landed in Yezo from where he sent six letters to the Dejima Factory Director, warning darkly of fictitious plans for a Russian invasion. Keene has noted that this was the first threat of attack since the Mongol invasion in the 13th century, and was earnestly discussed among Japanese.<sup>7</sup> The threat fuelled interest in overseas information, especially from the north. According to Numata Jirō, the study of world geography 'developed particularly as a discipline for learning about conditions in Russia which, at the time, was seen as a matter of urgency'. Thereafter, it came to be acknowledged as a new field of *rangaku* which had previously been confined to subjects like astronomy and medicine.<sup>8</sup>

The volume of information available on the outside world was increasing rapidly during the last years of the eighteenth century. One source was *fūsetsusho*,<sup>a</sup> the supposedly confidential reports submitted to the *bakufu* by the Dutch on Dejima.<sup>9</sup> There were also recent works published in Holland, such as W.S. Camerus' 1769 Dutch translation of Johan Hübner's six-volume German study, *Algemeen Geographie*. There were works translated into Chinese by European missionaries on the continent such as the influential *Shokuhō Gaiki*,<sup>b</sup> a world geography used extensively by Hayashi Shihei<sup>c</sup> and still widely read in nineteenth century Japan. Encyclopaedic works compiled in Europe during the Enlightenment also found their way to Japan. In his *Saiiki Monogatari* [*Tales of the West*],<sup>d</sup> for example, Honda Toshiaki acknowledged works by Egbert Buys (1769-78), Noel Chomel (1765-77) and J.C. Ludeman (1770-80). All this information was absorbed with the reader's own perception of Japan's immediate requirements foremost in mind. As Inuzuka Takaaki has pointed out, 'the rapid broadening of their world understanding was to become, as in the cases of Hayashi Shihei and Honda Toshiaki, the nucleus of their calls for a military sea defence policy or a political argument for a nation built on trade'.<sup>10</sup>

Hayashi was a pioneer of the science of geography, and his published works had considerable impact on the thought of the day, especially *Kaikoku Heidan* [*Military Talks for a Maritime Nation*]<sup>e</sup> written between 1787 and 1791. Concerned primarily with the military threat seen to be posed to the north, Hayashi

a. 風説書

b. 「職方外紀」

c. 林子平

d. 本多利明著「西域物語」(1800)

e. 「海国兵談」



declared that 'Russia in recent years has become the mightiest of nations in Europe. Her armies have extended their conquests to the distant territories of Tartary, to the land of Siberia, and even as far as Kamchatka'.<sup>11</sup> He could not disguise his admiration of European military order and was one of the first influential political writers to express the need to learn directly from a European model.

Contemporaries of Hayashi like Morishima Chūryō<sup>a</sup> were also producing geographical works that became widely read in the nineteenth century. In Ayusawa Shintarō's words, 'Chūryō's world atlas was the foundation of the study of world geography in the Edo period'.<sup>12</sup> His *Kōmō Zatsuwa* [*Miscellaneous Tales of the Red-hairs*]<sup>b</sup> drew on Dutch information to describe hospitals, orphanages and other social institutions, all topics that later became of central interest to *tansaku* writers in the 1860s. Morishima followed this work with *Bankoku Shinwa* [*New Tales from All Countries*]<sup>c</sup> in 1800, in which he drew upon the increasing availability of overseas information to compile a compendium of fantastic tales. This was perhaps a distant forbear of the periodical magazines of the early Meiji years that specialised in publishing fabulous stories from overseas.<sup>13</sup>

Another noteworthy work of the late eighteenth century was *Taisei Yochi Zusetsu* [*Illustrated Geography of the Western World*] by Kutsuki Masatsuna.<sup>d</sup> In Numata's view, 'this book left its mark for nearly half a century as a work circulated on European geography until the publication of *Konyo Zushiki* [*Illustrated Geography of the World*] by Mitsukuri Shōgo in 1845'.<sup>e</sup> This would not have been the case, however, if Yamamura Shōei had published his *Zōyaku Sairan Igen*,<sup>f</sup> a revised and augmented version of the earlier work by Arai Hakuseki. Completed in 1802 and only ever circulated among other scholars in the form of hand-written copies, *Zōyaku Sairan Igen* was, 'in terms of both quantity and quality, the largest and finest book of world geography during the *sakoku* period'.<sup>14</sup>

Works by writers such as Hayashi, Morishima and Kutsuki raised Japanese awareness of the world outside. As Keene has pointed out, 'by the end of the eighteenth century the Japanese were better acquainted with European civilization than the people of any other non-Western country'.<sup>15</sup> Moreover,

a. 森島中良

b. 「紅毛雜話」(1787)

c. 「万国新話」

d. 朽木昌綱著「泰西輿地圖説」

e. 箕作省吾著「坤輿圖説」

f. 山村昌永著「増訳采覧異言」

scholars like Hayashi and Honda were already suggesting in the tone of their works that western civilization might have some ethical foundations. In China, such a notion was vigorously refuted by nineteenth-century Ch'ing intellectuals for, according to Frodsham, 'to admire the *ethical* basis of western civilisation was to sound the death-knell of the Confucian world-order'.<sup>16</sup>

Nevertheless, there had still been no extensive research in Japan directly relating to Britain until Honda Toshiaki embarked on his economic theses at the turn of the century. Just as Hayashi had written vaguely of *myōhō*,<sup>a</sup> the wonderful laws of Europe, Honda drew on the latest information to paint an idealistic vision of economic prosperity in countries like France and Britain. Comparing Honda with European writers like Swift and Voltaire, Keene notes that 'the purpose of such fanciful accounts of distant countries was the same; to call attention to deficiencies at home by praising the superior ways of little-known foreigners, and thus to create desire for reform and progress'.<sup>17</sup> Honda perhaps did not consider his own plans in the least fanciful, and until a disillusioning expedition to the northern territories in 1801 chilled his enthusiasm, he appears to have entertained real hopes of establishing an empire based in Kamchatka. In creating an idealised image of European prosperity, however, he was certainly motivated by his desire to promote far-reaching economic reform in Japan. This was to be based on a positive trade strategy and, as Inuzuka has noted, 'the ideal country of the West that Toshiaki thought of as the model for his trading nation was Britain'.<sup>18</sup>

Honda's works, *Saiiki Monogatari*, *Keisei Hisaku* [*A Secret Plan of Government*] and *Bōeki Ron* [*Essay on Trade*], were not published and had little influence on nineteenth century writing.<sup>b</sup> Having seen Hayashi placed under house arrest after publishing his ideas, Honda took care to circulate his materials to those he thought he could trust, including powerful figures like Matsudaira Sadanobu<sup>c</sup> and the *daimyō* of Kaga. Retaining a position on the fringes of mainstream political thought, he remained comparatively free, unlike Hayashi, to develop his strategies, even though they clearly contradicted *bakufu* policy.

Honda became convinced of the need for economic reform after experiencing wretched conditions during his travels, and began to investigate conditions in

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a. 明法

b. 「経世秘策」(1798)、「貿易論」(1800)

c. 松平定信

Britain after noticing the increasing attention paid to British overseas activities in contemporary Dutch geographical works. A mathematician by training with an imperfect understanding of the Dutch language, he found the figures and statistics in his Dutch reference works more digestible than the nuances in the text, a common trait among many nineteenth-century scholars working in European languages.

Honda spared nothing in his praise for the Far West. He claimed that 'there are no bandits in Europe', and that 'when it comes to grand edifices, no country in the world can compare with England'.<sup>19</sup> Successful government and trade he saw as the product of nurturing education. 'Oh how noble and magnificent it is. The way of government can be called deeply profound due to an electoral system based on intelligence and ability. In London a university has been established where those with knowledge and skills find support, so that specialists in foreign languages come from far and wide... Thus there are people to impart knowledge, so students can emerge fully equipped with the education and skills to devise rare machines and renowned commodities'.<sup>20</sup> Although London's first university was not to appear until 1826, it is easier to appreciate what was meant by 'rare machines'. Four years before, for example, the *bakufu* had ordered a diving bell from the Dutch in Nagasaki. This was to be made in Britain, and after the Napoleonic wars disrupted the consignment, it was finally delivered to Japan in 1837.<sup>21</sup>

Honda was a pioneer in counselling that exhaustive research on Britain could be of practical advantage to Japan. He wrote that 'England is an island, a land of great cold, which produces little food. Perhaps by diligent study one may be able to discover how it was possible for this wretched island without a single redeeming feature to become so splendid a nation. With this information we would have the means to make Kamchatka into a great country as well'. The fatal flaw in Honda's argument was that, like other Japanese writers after him, his knowledge of world geography did not extend as far as the climatic effect of ocean currents. He confidently asserted that 'the great country called Kamchatka, in Japan's eastern Yezo territories is also situated between latitudes 51 and 70 degrees north, and thus has a climate similar to England's'.<sup>22</sup>

Honda's vision was unusual for his time in that it was global in scale. He reported that if the government adopted his plans for a trading empire centred on the northern territories, 'there will unquestionably come to be two supremely prosperous and powerful countries in the world; Japan in the East and England in the West'.<sup>23</sup> The terms he used for 'supremely prosperous and powerful countries', '*daifukoku* and '*daigōkoku*,<sup>a</sup> call to mind the rhetoric of *fukoku kyōhei*<sup>b</sup> that gained currency in the nineteenth century and went on to become a cornerstone of government policy in the Meiji period. He was thus describing Britain in terms of commercial wealth and military security, both ideals that were later to feature prominently among Japanese aspirations during the early years of overseas travel.

The ideas of Hayashi and Honda appear to have influenced Satō Nobuhiro<sup>c</sup> who was writing most actively in the 1820s and 1830s. He stressed in 1822, for example, that an extreme northern climate was a precondition for the creation of wealth and power, explaining that countries like Britain and Russia managed to turn their pitiful natural poverty to their advantage by 'employing various devices, uniting both rulers and those in government to gradually make their countries prosperous and their armies strong'.<sup>24</sup> The characters he used here for national strength and prosperity, *kunitomi heitsuyoku*,<sup>d</sup> mirror those later employed in the *fukoku kyōhei* slogan. Like Honda, he identified the promotion of trade as the key to successful government, observing that 'Britain has military strength, prosperity and numerous overseas colonies so that her power is shaking the world and now appears to be confronting Japan. Nevertheless, it must be realised that Britain itself is located between 50 and 60 degrees north, is small and the climate is so cold that the produce pales in comparison with that of Japan. Britain has amassed all this power simply by navigating the oceans intelligently and conducting trade with other nations'.<sup>25</sup> Satō foresaw a glorious future through a positive trade strategy modelled on Britain. 'Our country is composed of large islands, so that if navigation and trade were now to be developed, the resulting advantages would make Japan lead the world'.<sup>26</sup>

By the time Satō was writing this, a number of scholars had discovered a new interest in Britain. After an interval of more than 100 years, British ships had begun to arrive in Japanese waters. Furthermore, following Napoleon's conquest

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- a. 大富国、大剛国
  - b. 富国强兵
  - c. 佐藤信淵
  - d. 国富兵強

of the Netherlands, the Dutch at Batavia were forced to hire American vessels to sustain their Japan trade, and these were mistaken for British ships by scholars in Nagasaki who only became aware of American independence in 1809.<sup>27</sup>

Whereas Satō could employ the spectre of an aggressive British trading empire as an argument against insularity, the mainstream of scholarly opinion in the early nineteenth century reacted by casting the British in the role of uncivilized pirates conspiring against Japan. An alarmist tone was already evident in 1807 in *Hoei Mondō*, a report presented to the *bakufu* by the renowned Ōtsuki Gentaku.<sup>a</sup> Ōtsuki had access to information from the Dutch in Nagasaki which he used to portray a comparatively accurate picture of European affairs during the Napoleonic wars. His knowledge of Britain seems to have derived from *fūsetsusho* and also from his interviews with Daikokuya Kōdayū, the castaway who was returned from Russia by Rezanov in 1791, and these he had used in compiling his *Kankai Ibun* [*Strange Tales from Surrounding Seas*].<sup>b</sup>

Ōtsuki explained that British ships were now appearing in Nagasaki because they had wrested control from the Dutch in East Asia, an inference drawn from information that the King of Holland himself was now exiled in England. He warned that Britain was colluding with Russia against Japan, a leap of the imagination on learning of the European alliance against Napoleon. He then sought to maximise the impact of his discovery by emphasizing the threat posed by the same ingenuity that Honda had admired. 'It is frightening, quite terrifying', he wrote, 'to hear of how profoundly calculating they are, and how they never rush their intended targets'.<sup>28</sup> In his view, research on Britain was required, and wrote: 'I hope there will be measures to learn about them in detail'.<sup>29</sup> He was not the first to encourage such an investigation, as Honda had already called for research on Britain as a platform for development. The *bakufu*, however, listened more attentively to the influential Ōtsuki's call for research as a platform for defence.

Events at the time appeared to bear out Ōtsuki's interpretation. In 1808, *HMS Phaeton* sailed into Nagasaki harbour to take the Dutch on Dejima as hostages in the British conflict with the French, and created unprecedented shock at various levels of government in Japan. Held responsible for the inability of the

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a. 大槻玄沢著「捕影問答」

b. 「環海異聞」

Nagasaki sea defences to prevent the intrusion of a foreign warship, the Hizen *han* was humiliated enough to devote great efforts to researching cannon technology for years to come.<sup>30</sup> In Inuzuka's view, 'the incident had a great impact on the Japanese, and created in their minds an image of fear regarding the British to replace that hitherto reserved for the Russians'.<sup>31</sup> A triumphant Ōtsuki lost no time in submitting a detailed report of the whole affair in a second volume of *Hoei Mondō*.

The information the Japanese received from the Dutch on Dejima also seemed to confirm Ōtsuki's reports. Doeff, the Dutch factor, told the *bakufu* that 'bearing in mind the custom of the English, I think it quite likely that they have designs on Japan'. He also responded to reports of violence by Russian seamen on the coast of Yezo with the opinion that 'these events are almost certainly examples of the English encouraging the Russians to pursue evil thoughts and plans'.<sup>32</sup>

In the same year, the *bakufu* ordered six interpreters in Nagasaki to learn English. Although some interpreters may have first looked at the language at some stage in the late eighteenth century, this is seen as the beginning of English studies in Japan.<sup>33</sup> As Numata has pointed out, however, 'interest in English grew not so much out of any interest in Britain as such but more on account of the growing sense of fear that Britain inspired'.<sup>34</sup> By 1812, the interpreters' efforts had resulted in Japan's first English dictionary, the ten-volume *Angeria Kokugo Wakai*, followed by the much-expanded *Angeria Go Rin Taisei* two years later.<sup>a</sup> These works were not published and were too rare to make any great impact. Linguistic study, however, perhaps created a new angle on the feared subject of Britain. In the foreword of *Angeria Kokugo Wakai*, Motoki Shōei<sup>b</sup> wrote that 'it is a country in which the language clearly expresses the speaker's mind, and where it is customary to like shows of courage and give priority to simplifying matters.' Here there was perhaps a certain awareness of the spirit of rationalism which, half a century later, would attract the interest of informed Japanese travellers in Britain.<sup>35</sup>

Around the same time that these early dictionaries appeared, the suspicions of those persuaded by Ōtsuki's conspiracy theory were apparently confirmed by

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a. 「諸厄利亚国語和解」、 「諸厄利亚語林大成」

b. 本木正栄

Stamford Raffles' two unsuccessful attempts to open trade by sending British ships to Nagasaki in the guise of Dutch vessels. Furthermore, British whalers were appearing off Japanese coasts with increasing frequency, and violent scuffles sometimes followed. After one band of mariners came ashore in 1823 and roamed inland in search of provisions, the astronomer Takahashi Kageyasu<sup>a</sup> persuaded the *bakufu* to replace the practice of allowing foreign ships access to provisions with a soon notorious policy of shooting on sight. Knowledge of Britain still lagged far behind that of Russia, and Takahashi realised the need for a new investigation on this little-known country. His passion for geography earned him the nickname 'Globius' from the Dutch, and it was as 'Globius' that he was unmasked in the Siebold affair a few years later. His interest in Britain was apparent even then, as one of the books Siebold gave him in return for the map of Japan that would cost him his life was *Igirisu Honsho Nuki Yezo Kiji* [*Record of Yezo Extracted from an English Book*].<sup>b</sup> This may have included excerpts from William Broughton's report on his two landings in Matsumae *han* territory in the last years of the eighteenth century.

Takahashi was given the task of interrogating the band of British whalers in 1823, and sought assistance with his interviews from the interpreter Yoshio Chūjirō,<sup>c</sup> another scholar later to be imprisoned in the Siebold affair. Two years later, Takahashi instructed Yoshio to produce *Angeria Seijō Shi* [*Report on the Character of the English*],<sup>d</sup> a translation of an English work apparently written in 1763. This boasted of recent military victories over the French and paraded laudable British traits, with Anglophile comments quoted from Montesquieu and Saint Evrémonde. It may have been this work that introduced Milton to the Japanese. As Inuzuka suggests, however, many readers in Japan in the 1820s would have been too preoccupied with the issue of coastal defence to notice or accept the positive traits portrayed in Yoshio's translation.<sup>36</sup> After reading this work during the 1850s, for example, Yoshida Shōin commented that 'it simply praises their manner as steady and honest and their politics as generous and practical, but I remain unconvinced'.<sup>37</sup>

Yoshida may have been helped towards such a sceptical reaction by the tone Takahashi adopted in the foreword. 'To sum up', he wrote, 'I suspect that all their manners are rough, devious and deathly'.<sup>38</sup> He was also unimpressed by

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a. 高橋景保

b. 「イギリス書抜蝦夷記事」

c. 吉雄忠次郎

d. 「諸厄利亜性情志」

the idea of popular representation. The original author, he observed, 'considers it noble that commoners restrain the power of their peers. There is supposed to be a distinction in rank between lords and servants, but in reality no such distinction seems to exist. This volume describes this all as generous, practical politics. Well, this is nothing more than the lawlessness of selfish greed'.<sup>39</sup> Within Takahashi's cultural perspective, the notion of the governed masses influencing the actions of the ruling classes was barbaric indeed.

Takahashi's research on Britain was motivated by an insular reaction to the increasing numbers of foreign ships in Japanese waters. By the 1830s, however, an increasing amount of available information led some scholars to examine the wider implications of recent British activities in Asian waters. The *bakufu*, for example, had commissioned Aoji Rinsō to translate the Dutch version of Hübner's *Geographie* into Japanese, and this resulted in the famous 65-volume *Yochi Shi* in 1827.<sup>a</sup> Volumes of this work, including one on the geography of Britain, were soon in circulation. The arrival of more foreign shipping also generated further interest in British affairs, particularly after *USS Morrison* was forced away from the Uraga coast by *bakufu* gunfire in 1838.

Two scholars, Takano Chōei and Watanabe Kazan responded by attempting to persuade the *bakufu* of the need for a more receptive policy towards passing shipping. They had been led to believe by a report written by the Dutch factor that *USS Morrison* was a British ship, and imagined the affair to be somehow connected with Robert Morrison, the noted British scholar then active in China. Concerned that the incident would provoke an even stricter *bakufu* stance, Takano and Watanabe respectively wrote *Yume Monogatari* [Story of a Dream] and *Shinki Ron* [Essay on Attention to an Opportunity], using detailed geographical material to argue against further restrictions.<sup>b</sup> Much of their information was drawn from works such as Hübner's *Geographie* and *Chiri Jiten* [Geographical Dictionary], a Dutch work filled with statistics that Takano had obtained from Ozeki San'ei.<sup>c</sup>

Takano claimed it was an eye for private profit that had induced the Dutch to describe the British as nothing more than pirates. He also reproached the *bakufu* for transgressing a code of common courtesy recognised worldwide by firing on

a. 青地林宗訳「輿地誌」

b. 高野長英著「戊戌夢物語」、渡辺崋山著「慎機論」

c. 小関三英著「地理辞典」





*USS Morrison*, thus hinting at an awareness of international law. His criticism, however, was confined to this one incident; in his opinion, the sailors should simply have been allowed provisions and sent on their way.<sup>40</sup>

Watanabe took his argument further, drawing on his reading to suggest that extensive internal reform was necessary to enable Japan to resist the vigorous advance of western countries in Asia. He identified the influence of science behind the recent European expansion, and tried to explain the psychology of rationalism by declaring that, 'for them, it is anathema to close their ears when they hear thunder, or to shut their eyes for fear of lightning'.<sup>41</sup> Satō Shōsuke cites Watanabe as the first writer to identify morality and science as the two separate foundations of civilization.<sup>42</sup> In his view, moral thought emanated from southern Asia, a category in which he included Japan, and that religions had then spread outwards to areas such as the frozen wastes of Europe. He thought that 'the past and present have now become quite reversed. In whichever country, the morality of the present pales in comparison with that of the past, while the study of science now surpasses that of the past'.<sup>43</sup> He was thus using a broad historical perspective in an attempt to explain *gaiatsu*,<sup>a</sup> the perceived encroachment of overseas powers during his own lifetime. As a result, his world view had a heightened sense of impending danger to Japan.

Watanabe called for detailed research on countries whose science had given them such power, writing that 'to know the conditions throughout the West is now a matter of utmost urgency'.<sup>44</sup> His work was particularly detailed on Russian and British affairs, indicating an orientation towards countries held to pose the greatest security threat. Ayusawa Shintarō has noted that 'Kazan devoted most effort to the study of Britain'.<sup>45</sup> Watanabe himself pointed out that, compared with Russia, so little was known of Britain that immediate research was necessary, stressing that 'to merely dismiss them as barbarians is indeed the attitude of the blind'.<sup>46</sup> He underlined this point in *Shinki Ron*, writing that 'the British are clever strategists and strong in sea battles...They manipulate that strength to further their own interests, and if they now have designs on Japan, it can only mean harm for our country, caught as we are between the conflicting interests of Russia and Holland as well'.<sup>47</sup>

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a. 外圧

In his *Gaikoku Jijō Sho* [*Book of Conditions in Foreign Lands*],<sup>a</sup> Watanabe set out to make as comprehensive a survey as possible given the information to hand, drawing on various geography books to explain Britain's location, government, customs, religion, education, economics and military organisation. He drew on Hubner's work to explain the parliamentary system and a Dutch work to give a portrayal of British national character. These led him to conclude that the British were 'most ingenious'. He wrote that 'the rare machines and commodities they produce in factories are exported all over the world yet they still do not lack for themselves. Their numbers are thus still increasing, even though many emigrate every year. They specialise in trade, but also study literature, and enjoy peace and quiet. The common people like fighting, and look down on foreigners'. This perspective he confirmed by quoting another Dutch work which characterised the British as 'ingenious with technical craft, they endeavour to memorize what they learn, and conduct research into the study of reason. However, to their detriment, they are always prone to create a fuss, and look down on people from other countries'.<sup>48</sup>

As a result of their research, Takano and Watanabe were able to synthesise previous writers' perspectives of Britain. Although Watanabe's theory on the march of western science certainly served to confirm Japanese security fears, it also rejected Takahashi's perception of the British as lawless. He attributed their advances to the same emphasis on education and gift for science that Honda had acclaimed nearly forty years before, underpinned by the same populist politics presented in *Angeria Seijō Shi* that Takahashi had chosen to condemn. In Inuzuka's view, Takano and Watanabe managed to create a 'true image of Britain', blending aspects that were considered both positive and negative by their contemporaries. The power that Britain possessed could seem frightening, but this was based on a popular social structure that fulfilled the country's potential for development.<sup>49</sup> Their interpretation of Britain was certainly more textured than that of any previous scholars in Japan. It was still very much coloured by their motive for writing, which was primarily to inform an insular government of the significance of recent encounters with foreign shipping. Their own experience was also confined by the restraints of *sakoku* law, rendering them heavily dependent on information from Dutch geographers in structuring their international perspectives.

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a. 「外国事情書」

The *bakufu* were unreceptive to the ideas of Takano and Watanabe, and both were imprisoned on the fictitious charge of conspiring to travel to the Bōnin islands. Thereafter, research on the outside world was increasingly confined to the study of military technology, a tendency accelerated by the impact of the British victory over China in the Opium War which rekindled the image of Britain as a belligerent threat. The views of Ōtsuki and Takahashi still exerted more influence at government level, in spite of the efforts of Takano and Watanabe.

Nevertheless, there was a continued increase in the volume of both geographical and historical information available relating to the world outside. Saitō Setsudō, for example, a scholar whom Ayusawa considered unrivalled as a geographer in the *bakumatsu* period, embarked on his exhaustive research of overseas books after hearing of British victory in the Opium War. His two-volume *Chigaku Kyoyō [The Essentials of Geography]*<sup>a</sup> featured a streamlined presentation of statistical information. This was a format found increasingly in gazetteers on conditions overseas in the 1860s and particularly during the early Meiji years. Another important development was the publication of Mitsukuri Shōgo's *Konyo Zushiki* in 1845, an influential work that was read by many early overseas travellers. Wei Yuan's *Haikuo T'u-chih*, written in China between 1844 and 1852, was published in Japan as *Kaikoku Zushi [Illustrated Geography of Maritime Nations]*<sup>b</sup> between 1854 and 1856, and gained a wide readership among the many educated Japanese whose training made them more familiar with Chinese literature than western studies. Mayo has pointed out the irony in the fact that the impact such Chinese gazetteers had 'was more profound in Japan than China'.<sup>50</sup>

Yoshida Shōin recorded a reading list which offers a useful insight into the range of material available in the 1850s to Japanese scholars with an interest in conditions overseas. This included works relating to Britain such as *Rondon Hyōban Ki [Critique on London]*,<sup>c</sup> perhaps an excerpt from Wei's *Kaikoku Zushi*, which made a great impression on Yoshida when he read it in prison.<sup>51</sup> He used Mitsukuri's *Konyo Zushiki* extensively and also read Yoshio Chūjirō's *Angeria Seijō Shi*. Another work he recorded was *Kaigai Shinwa [New Tales from Overseas]*, written by Mineda Fūkō in 1849. This included a section entitled *Igirisu Kiryaku [Short History of England]* which traced events up to and including the

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a. 齐藤節道著「地学举要」

b. 魏源著「海国图志」

c. 「蘭館評判記」

## Opium War.<sup>a</sup>

By the 1850s, therefore, there was access to a variety of overseas information, but still an acute awareness among writers themselves of the inadequacy of their scholarship and the limitations under which they had to operate. With the installation of the British in Shanghai after the Opium War and then renewed efforts to open trade by Putiatin and Perry in 1853, however, the sense of immediate threat to Japanese security reached such fever pitch that advocates of opening the country (*kaikoku ronsha*)<sup>b</sup> began to call openly for investigations overseas. Sakuma Shōzan, for example, asked 'what kind of defence is it not even to investigate the state of affairs and conditions overseas?'<sup>52</sup> In 1853, Nishimura Shigeki,<sup>c</sup> then an officer of the Sakura *han*, made a formal though unsuccessful request to be allowed overseas. In the same year, Sakuma suggested to the comparatively progressive *rōjū* Abe Masahiro<sup>d</sup> that a party of 'capable men' should be sent abroad 'to investigate with their own eyes the state of affairs and conditions' in the West.<sup>53</sup> Yoshida Shōin actually boarded *USS Powhatan* the following year in an attempt to escape to America, confiding to Sakuma; 'I wish to go and study conditions overseas myself, for to see once is worth more than hearing a hundred times'.<sup>54</sup> After being turned back and then imprisoned in Shimoda, he wrote; 'I want to go overseas and make a detailed study of every country, so as to be able to devise a master strategy for the sake of Japan'.<sup>55</sup> Nothing less than a manifesto for *tansaku* investigation, this sentiment would certainly have struck a chord with many of those who actually travelled overseas in the 1860s.

While Abe was still in office, the *bakufu* were receptive to plans for investigations overseas. In 1856, a *bakufu* official at the Dutch naval training school in Nagasaki recommended that a group of students should be sent to Holland, and a year later, Abe actually arranged a plan to send students to Jakarta. After his death in 1857, however, the *bakufu* showed less enthusiasm, so that nothing came of a suggestion by Matsudaira Yoshinaga the following year to send groups of students and observation parties overseas, a plan perhaps conceived by his retainer, Hashimoto Sanai.<sup>e</sup> At *han* level, meanwhile, the *daimyō* of Satsuma, Shimazu Nariakira,<sup>f</sup> made plans to send parties of students to Britain, France and America, but died before they could be implemented.

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a. 嶺田風江著「海外新話」、「イギリス機略」

b. 開国論者

c. 西村茂樹

d. 阿部正弘

e. 松平慶永、橋本左内

f. 島津斉彬

In the event, the first opportunity for investigations overseas arose not from planning at *bakufu* or *han* level. It was provided rather by Townsend Harris' enthusiasm for an embassy to Washington to complete the diplomatic formalities of the trade treaty, and his calculation that a glimpse of the outside world would clearly demonstrate the advantages of opening Japan to trade with the United States. The *bakufu*'s choice of personnel for the 1860 mission to America, however, reflected considerations of rank rather than any great interest in the world outside, and there was no coordinated programme of investigation into conditions abroad. The *tansaku* order made in 1861 during preparations for the Takenouchi mission to Europe is usually thought of as having been the first instance of any coordinated research abroad. Matsuzawa Hiroaki asserts, for example, that what research was done during the trip to America was carried out not so much by official representatives but individually by diarists such as Tamamushi Sadayū<sup>a</sup> and other *han* officers or retainers in the lower echelons of *bakufu* service who volunteered to join the mission to advance their own knowledge.<sup>56</sup>

There was, however, one precedent of a *han* orchestrating a programme of research during the 1860 mission to America. Of the seven representatives from the Hizen *han* among the party, at least three of them, all of them veterans of the Nagasaki naval training centre, received detailed orders to investigate specific subjects in America relating to their own special fields. Koide Sennosuke,<sup>b</sup> for example, was required 'to keep a diary throughout the voyage and at all times ashore'. He was to report on 'ship regulations, batteries and sea defences, details of all official receptions provided by the U.S. government, physical characteristics of the land, volume of population, social customs, produce and trade, science-related matters such as reverbatory furnaces, laboratories and factories, animals, vegetation and minerals, the education system in military colleges and for schoolchildren and, in addition to the above, anything else noteworthy that might be seen or heard during the trip'.<sup>57</sup> Coordinated *tansaku* investigations overseas thus began not with the *bakufu*, but followed on research at *han* level.

Japanese overseas travellers in the early 1860s were able to draw on various reading materials to prepare them for their expeditions to the outside world.

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a. 玉虫左太夫

b. 小田下之助

While in London with the Takenouchi mission in 1862, Ichikawa Wataru<sup>a</sup> quoted in his diary from works such as Mitsukuri Shōgo's *Konyo Zushiki* and the considerably older *Shokuhō Gaiki*.<sup>58</sup> Generations of works translated or written in Japanese or Chinese could be sought out before leaving for foreign shores. Those with a working knowledge of Dutch had somewhat greater scope. Koide Sennosuke, ordered by his *han* to make detailed investigations during the *bakufu* mission to America based much of his reports on information from a Dutch world geography published in 1855.<sup>59</sup> Travellers who collected information abroad in the course of *tansaku* investigations were influenced by the geographical gazetteers on which they initially based their research. This in turn gave rise to a distinct *tansaku* writing style characterised by a tendency to employ statistics liberally in an attempt to explain 'scientifically' various novel aspects of the unknown West. This style also invaded the field of travel journals to produce an entirely new departure in the written form of the Japanese diary.

#### *Eikoku Tansaku* and the 1862 *bakufu* mission to Europe

During the Takenouchi mission to Europe in 1862, a programme of investigation into conditions abroad was carried out under *bakufu* orders, and was to have a profound influence on the development of Japanese perceptions of the world outside. Although the report itself was never released, the information acquired in the process was used extensively in published works such as Fukuzawa's influential *Seiyō Jijō*. While in Europe, detailed reports were compiled on each of the six countries visited, but by far the most comprehensive was that on Britain. This was later written up and edited under the title of *Eikoku Tansaku*.

Official *bakufu* records of the Takenouchi mission do not reveal an overwhelming concern for conducting research in Europe. Their priorities lay more with the diplomatic efforts of securing European consent to postpone the opening of further treaty ports, and negotiating with Russia over the disputed northern territories. It was Rutherford Alcock who, like Harris before him, thought that such a mission could also provide an opportunity to impress senior *bakufu* officials and even encourage change in Japan. The *rōjū* Andō Nobumasa<sup>b</sup> accepted Alcock's suggestion for tours of observation and agreed that 'on-site

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a. 市川渡

b. 安藤信正

experience of the state of affairs in Europe could be helpful in the event of any necessary reform'.<sup>1</sup> Less to Alcock's liking was the *bakufu*'s willingness to listen to Philipp Franz von Siebold's overtures that the mission should not be confined to Britain and France, but should include visits to other European countries as well.

In early 1861, the *bakufu* set about choosing scholars of western studies (*yōgakusha*) capable of conducting such research. Takenouchi Yasunori formally suggested that to enable 'investigations to be carried out on the conditions abroad and on anything besides that may be of value to Japan', it would perhaps be best if, 'in addition to three interpreters, someone with not just a knowledge of English studies but also with an understanding of the English language were also to be sent'.<sup>2</sup> The interpreters selected were Fukuchi Gen'ichirō, Tachi Hirosaku and Shinagawa Tōjūrō, although Shinagawa was later replaced by Fukuzawa Yukichi, a veteran of the *bakufu* mission to America the previous year.<sup>a</sup> The team of *tansaku* scholars was completed by two Dutch-style scholars, Mitsukuri Shūhei and Matsuki Kōan.<sup>b</sup>

Beasley has noted that, primarily due to acute language difficulties, 'the mission was not well equipped for collecting information, other than from official sources'.<sup>3</sup> Attempts to gain information from Japanese-speaking Europeans during their travels proved to be either 'no more than thirty per cent understandable' (Léon de Rosny in France) or like 'scratching an itching place through one's shoe' (Dr Johan Hoffman in Holland).<sup>4</sup> Fukuchi later commented how, 'guided around all to see in Europe, they all made extensive observations, but most of them in their ignorance overlooked it all, and of more than 30 people there, there were precious few who really registered what they saw'.<sup>5</sup>

While the appointed experts had a grounding in Dutch, none of them had a confident grasp of English. Fukuzawa claimed he had just about learnt to read and speak English by the time he went to Europe, but the notes he made in foreign languages during his travels were recorded predominantly in Dutch.<sup>6</sup> *Bakufu* efforts to promote an understanding of English had progressed little since the first Nagasaki interpreters were ordered to learn the language in 1809. Although there was some awareness by the mid-1850s of the importance of English,

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a. 福地源一郎、立広作、品川藤十郎

b. 箕作秋坪

the diffusion of English studies as such did not materialise on any significant scale until well into the 1860s.<sup>7</sup>

In 1858, there were just fourteen or so students learning English at the *Bansho Shirabesho*,<sup>a</sup> (literally, Office for the Investigation of Barbarian Books) which had been established to cope with the translation of diplomatic documents. In Nagasaki, there were only three or four *bakufu* interpreters learning the language from Dutch instructors.<sup>8</sup> Fukuzawa had no English at all when he went to Yokohama in late 1859, and was perplexed by the signs put up by British and American merchants.<sup>9</sup> Until recently, the earliest example of English being taught at *han* level was thought to have been in Hizen in 1861.<sup>10</sup> In fact, there were already Hizen officers in Nagasaki learning English under *han* orders in early 1859, and possibly as early as 1858.<sup>11</sup>

In late 1861, the three *bakufu* envoys submitted their proposals for the *tansaku* research to be undertaken in Europe, announcing that 'investigations are to be carried out into conditions abroad and anything that may be of value to Japan'. It was the business of managing the new treaty ports that most exercised the minds of *bakufu* diplomats. When a list of fields for study was presented, it was dominated by topics such as trade laws in ports, piloting systems, import controls and consulate regulations. Just as past research on Britain had been undertaken with a view to persuading the *bakufu* to adopt a more expansive trade policy or to warn the authorities of imminent military danger, now this specific interest in the management of foreigners in Japan served to confine the range of the investigations undertaken in Europe. The proposal did, however, contain some signs of a broader perspective, and in an open-ended afterthought, called on the appointed researchers 'to make examinations through exhaustive observation on the foundations of each state and how they compare with Japan, on similarities and differences in political customs, and on anything besides that may be of reference in our foreign relations'. They were also exhorted to observe European science, although this was primarily motivated by security interests, and were 'to submit reports examining the conditions of fortifications and artillery batteries in each country, and also on the production of all commodities and machinery'.<sup>12</sup>

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a. 藩書調所



Inuzuka sees in this report evidence of keen interest by the Takenouchi mission in the political, economic and military features that underpinned the structure of civilization in Europe.<sup>13</sup> The *bakufu* were still overwhelmingly preoccupied with domestic security, however, and when Andō issued the final order for research shortly before the mission left for Europe, subjects like politics figured only in passing. The order specified investigations to be undertaken on 'the land tax and rent of each legation and consulate, trade laws and transactions of goods, regulations for pilots, the operation of the entrepôt, fortifications, gun batteries, warships, the production of all goods and machinery, the manufacture of cannon and guns, the method of minting coinage, the availability of reasonably priced warships, how much tax would be levied if the Japanese bought warships, the limits and regulations for foreign settlements and their land taxes and rents, the military system, what happens to the export of arms when waging war against a country with whom a trade treaty has been signed, the political and educational system, how disorder is controlled in foreign settlements, and what provisions are provided for ships putting into port'.<sup>14</sup> It is interesting to note how closely this *tansaku* order corresponds to the content of the *Eikoku Tansaku* report that was eventually produced.

Beasley has pointed out that Alcock, dissatisfied with reports of the limited scope for research contained in this memorandum, pressurized the *bakufu* into producing a further statement with a wider scope for investigating affairs in Europe. This he had sent on to Paris to ensure the envoys received it before they arrived in Britain, and 'the fact that the members of the mission, above all those who were held to be 'experts', pursued their studies of life in the West with much greater assiduity after leaving France suggests that Alcock had gained his point'.<sup>15</sup> Nevertheless, had Alcock himself had access to the finished version of *Eikoku Tansaku* and seen the lingering concern for treaty ports it contained, he may well have felt his exhortations to have been insufficient.

As with the *bakufu* mission to America, officers from various *han* who volunteered to join the party as retainers also had a keen interest in conducting investigations themselves. This was again most noticeable in the case of the Hizen *han*, and Fukuzawa wrote in a letter from London that, 'on this occasion

also, three officers (from Hizen), a doctor, an artillery expert and a scholar of Dutch Studies, have been allowed to join the mission as retainers, and are here specifically, I believe, in order to conduct on-site research on countries in Europe'.<sup>16</sup> *Han* rivalry was certainly serving to fuel the pursuit of knowledge from overseas, for Fukuzawa added: 'I hope extensive measures can be implemented in our (Nakatsu) *han* as well so that we may catch up with the advances made by the *daimyō* of Hizen'.<sup>17</sup>

Soon after arriving in London in early 1862 at the start of the mission's six-week tour of England, Shibata Takenaka, the *bakufu* representative responsible for overseeing the *tansaku* investigations, expressed reservations about the progress of the project to date: 'We are working hard on making arrangements and studying diligently, but the system of research proposed and the actual process of investigation are as different as ice and charcoal, so that we cannot possibly complete the study within the space of just 30 or 40 days. In short, I am most worried that we will all be returning with our hands empty'. Shibata admitted that 'we are simply absorbing everything in amazement, eyes and ears wide open' and lamented that 'if only we understood the language and were free to go out and walk around, an investigation of conditions like this might possibly be completed, but here with examples of their progress right in front of us, not to be able to realise this wish is exasperating'.<sup>18</sup>

Ironically, the restrictions on movement of which Shibata complained were due in part to Alcock's own recommendation to halve the numbers taking part in the mission on practical grounds. As a result, the participants were subjected to closer scrutiny by *bakufu* officials monitoring their activities. Ichikawa Wataru, for example, later mentioned in the preface to his diary that, 'during our stays in each country, the envoys always travelled by carriage, so that six or seven times out of ten, I was unable to accompany them. Moreover, I was not allowed to walk around as I pleased'.<sup>19</sup> Fukuzawa recalled that 'we were by no means free, even when we were given freedom to look around', and complained that 'it was really very difficult to meet foreigners,' as their every move was watched, and if no *bakufu* official was available to escort them, they were not allowed out at all.<sup>20</sup>

In spite of such limitations, Fukuzawa felt more optimistic than Shibata about the scope for research. On the same day that Shibata lamented the lack of progress, he remarked in a despatch to Nakatsu: 'already, I have looked for all kinds of knowledge in France and Britain, and have heard about the government system, army and navy regulations, and the method of taxation. It would be going too far to say that with one look all has become as clear as day, but certainly compared with my research to date using books alone, seeing once is worth more than hearing a hundred times, and there is much to be achieved'. Like Shibata, he felt the research was very rushed, but concluded that, 'as there is simply not enough time available to conduct investigations at first-hand, we have no choice but to search through books later on. I have already examined many English books here in London, and intend to buy enough books when we get to Holland'.<sup>21</sup>

Meanwhile, the team of *tansaku* researchers were busy collecting information, assisted by the enthusiasm of their British hosts to escort them on a round of showcase visits to arsenals, factories, hospitals, schools, docks and even coal mines. They each received separate assignments, and Fukuzawa's brief included politics, industry, education, hospitals, workhouses, telegraphs and railways.<sup>22</sup> There was a certain amount of overlap, however, as Matsuki later recalled: 'Mitsukuri Shūhei and I investigated the methods of treatment in hospitals and education in schools...responsibility was shared between each field, and when we returned to our lodgings, we would record it all and ended up collecting together a large volume'.<sup>23</sup> It is not clear, however, who was responsible for collecting information during the *bakufu* mission's tour of the north, an assignment that resulted in a detailed description on the workings of the port of Liverpool in the completed *Eikoku Tansaku* report.

After the Takenouchi mission returned to Japan in late 1862, the material collected during the investigations in Europe was written up in six different reports, one for each country visited. The report on Britain was the most detailed, addressing 40 subjects as compared with 21 for Holland, sixteen for Prussia, fifteen for France and eight for Portugal. Only the report on Russia with 33 sections approached it in length, with close attention paid to military details. This perhaps reflected fears for Japan's security interests,

particularly in view of recent Russian activities around Tsushima.

The final report was compiled under the supervision of Fukuda Sakutarō, a *bakufu* official in the Kanagawa *bugyōsho*.<sup>a</sup> By the time the official *tansaku* reports were complete, however, Andō Nobumasa had fallen from power and they attracted no apparent interest from the *bakufu* authorities. The volumes were kept in Nijō Castle and officially forgotten, perhaps to the relief of those involved in its compilation. At a time when anti-foreign sentiment was growing in intensity, they would risk the wrath of *jōi* activists if some of the radical notions expressed in their *tansaku* reports were to be disclosed. As Beasley observes, 'members of the mission, like Fukuzawa Yukichi, who were eventually to write about what they had seen and heard, were far too aware of the risks which this involved to make their knowledge public until the situation in Japan began to change'.<sup>24</sup>

Notwithstanding their lack of immediate influence, the *tansaku* reports were a leap in the recorded Japanese awareness of civilization in Europe. In his authoritative analysis of the *bakufu* report on Britain, Matsuzawa Hiroaki has noted that *Eikoku Tansaku* 'far surpassed both in accuracy of outline and weight of detail works such as *Konyo Zushiki* and *Kaikoku Zushi* which until then had been widely read and had provided the background knowledge of many visitors to the West'.<sup>25</sup>

Like the other reports on European countries, *Eikoku Tansaku* began with an explanation of the political structure of Britain. The mission's tours of observation had included a visit to the House of Commons, a destination that was often chosen by subsequent Japanese travellers. Fukuchi was perplexed by what he saw, admitting later that 'I understood the British Parliament even less when I actually saw it at work'.<sup>26</sup> The *tansaku* researchers were confused by the relationship between holding office and social status in Britain, commenting in their report that government ministers only held office for life after which their descendants became commoners again. Beasley notes that 'the Japanese observers clearly found it difficult to understand and explain a society in which rank, office and income were not related in the way familiar to them in Japan'.<sup>27</sup>

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a. 奉行所

The most intriguing section in *Eikoku Tansaku* is a comparison between the British and French systems of government that was gleaned from talks with an unidentified Dutch doctor in London. His name sounded something like 'Shinmon Berihente',<sup>a</sup> and he is thought to have been a radical thinker who came to Britain after being exiled from France following the coup d'état there in 1851. Matsuzawa has pointed out close similarities between the content of this section and a twenty-page sequence of notes that Fukuzawa took down in Dutch in his *Seikō Techō*,<sup>b</sup> the notebook he used during the mission.<sup>28</sup> This was by far the most organised single section in his notes, suggesting that his informant was not simply answering questions, but delivering nothing short of a lecture. In Matsuzawa's view, in addition to the comparison of French and British politics, 'it is quite certain that much of *Eikoku Tansaku* was based on information from this 'Berihente'.<sup>29</sup>

Although Fukuzawa never mentioned this doctor by name in his writings, Nagao Masanori has suggested that 'Berihente' was an inspirational factor in developing his own political awareness.<sup>30</sup> Fukuzawa was perhaps obliquely referring to him among others when he recalled that 'whenever I met someone who I thought to be of some consequence, I would ask him questions and would put down all he said in a notebook'.<sup>31</sup> This, his *Seikō Techō*, was to figure large among the source material for his best-selling *Seiyō Jijō*.

Matsuzawa notes that, within *Eikoku Tansaku*'s edited and consciously objective style, a number of subjective concerns are apparent which reveal attitudes held by the researchers themselves. As young and progressive intellectuals employed by a rigid feudal administration, they were particularly drawn towards the term 'freedom' that they heard used in describing British politics, precisely because this represented what they felt was denied them in Japan. The freedom they portrayed in *Eikoku Tansaku* was simply a benevolent attitude adopted by ruling officers towards the common classes in civilized nations. They described officer classes governing peasants and merchants in standard Tokugawa social terms, claiming that 'the government makes no distinction between peasants and merchants except once a year when they are separated in order to bring the family registers up to date'.<sup>32</sup> At the same time, the report paid great

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a. シンモンベリヘンテ

b. 「西航手帳」

attention to the possibility of upward social mobility, with government officials 'appointed to their posts according to their ability'.<sup>33</sup> Advancement in public life, therefore, was dependent on talent, and in exceptional circumstances, even peasants and merchants who showed unusual skills could be admitted to public office.<sup>34</sup>

In Matsuzawa's view, this idealised portrayal 'was perhaps the result of their discovering that their own desires had already become reality in British society'.<sup>35</sup> The idea of equal political opportunity through education was not new to Japanese scholars. It had been idealised vaguely by Honda, dismissed out of hand by Takahashi and rediscovered by Watanabe. It was a concept, however, that the researchers seized upon with fresh enthusiasm, for in the confused and lengthy explanation of Parliament in *Eikoku Tansaku*, the one theme to be clearly presented was that qualification for government office depended above all on ability.

*Eikoku Tansaku* paid great attention to the idea of voluntarism in Victorian society, with institutions like schools and hospitals organised not necessarily by the government but by the voluntary activity of private citizens. The comment that 'the government does not concern itself with persons who engage in agriculture and trade' was, in Beasley's view, 'the closest the travellers could get to an explanation of economic *laissez-faire*'.<sup>36</sup> During the mission's round of visits in London, the researchers found institutions supported by wealthy merchants outside government control, and in their enthusiasm for this important discovery, they positively emphasized the impact of private enterprise wherever possible. The one glaring exception was the erroneous claim that the fourteen theatres of London were established by the government.<sup>37</sup> Elsewhere, the *bakufu* reader was informed that 'although the government does build schools, hospitals, orphanages and old peoples' homes, many are set up through the cooperation of townspeople'.<sup>38</sup>

In spite of the obvious difficulties the researchers faced in explaining such unfamiliar organisations, the discovery of the many different ways in which 'companies' could influence the structure of life in Britain was a major achievement of *Eikoku Tansaku*. The point was consistently underlined;

'throughout Britain', it was noted, 'railways are established not by the government but by organisations known as companies, or groups of business partners'.<sup>39</sup> It was reported that 'telegraph lines in London are set up not by the government but by partners from merchant groups who apply for licences'.<sup>40</sup> The section on the organisation of gaslamps on city streets explained that 'there are thirteen gasworks in London, all of which are run by wealthy merchant groups'.<sup>41</sup> Even the investigation of entrepôts specified in the *tansaku* order yielded the information that they are set up 'not by the government but by companies, groups of business partners', while the system of pilot boats in Liverpool merited the comment that 'this again is run by companies'.<sup>42</sup> This enthusiasm for the importance of private enterprise sometimes resulted in error, for it was announced that the Bank of England 'was entirely unrelated to the government', and that the volunteer militia was completely independent of both the regular army and the government.<sup>43</sup>

In addition to their Japanese cultural perspectives, the balance of *Eikoku Tansaku* was also affected by the researchers' background in language training. Western terms used were often derived from Dutch, many of them originally recorded in Fukuzawa's *Seikō Techō*. Like the writers of the *sakoku* period who depended so much on Dutch works, they still relied on the medium of Dutch for much of their information, even during their stay in Britain. In presenting the subject of the volunteer militia, for example, the report explained that 'there is something in London called the *vrijwillige leger*'.<sup>44</sup> In contrast to the enthusiasm shown towards the freedom of access to public office, there were several veiled references to the injustice of the ruling classes, information perhaps gleaned from the radical Dutch doctor in London. On the theme of land ownership, for example, *Eikoku Tansaku* refers to the aristocracy with the Dutch word '*adel*', claiming mistakenly that 'in the last twelve years only one person has joined the ranks of the aristocracy'.<sup>45</sup> Such a time span suggests that this information may have come from '*Berihente*', speaking from personal experience since his arrival from France.

This Dutch slant is again apparent in the description of the British army. In a section closely reminiscent of a passage from Fukuzawa's Dutch notes, the report claimed that the courage of British soldiers was rendered useless by the

recklessness of their officers who reached positions of command simply through their ability to pay a £200 commission. *Eikoku Tansaku* reported that, in spite of the courage of British soldiers, they had often lost in combat: 'the truth of it is that the officers who lead the soldiers lack learning and an understanding of the art of war'.<sup>46</sup> With Balaclava still fresh in the memory, this view would have struck a chord with many in Britain, and the *tansaku* researchers' informant even told them of Napoleon's declaration that, given French officers and British soldiers, he could conquer the world.<sup>47</sup> Officers in the navy received the same criticism as those in the army. The structure of the navy was presented in more depth, however, and it was calculated that, 'if the relative strengths of the current British navy and army were compared, the navy would score eight or nine out of ten, and the army just one or two', a balance attributed to Britain's defensive requirements as an island nation.<sup>48</sup>

The other main feature of *Eikoku Tansaku*'s report on the British army was the exaggerated political power attributed to the volunteer militia. It even claimed that, during the recent Arrow war, they 'rose up en masse, and went out to fight in China'.<sup>49</sup> Britain was still apparently regarded as a direct military threat for the report claimed that, 'after their legation at Tōzenji<sup>a</sup> was recently attacked in Edo, the British government was intent on planning a war, but when they sought the support of the volunteer militia, not one agreed with the plan'.<sup>50</sup>

Over and above political and military concerns, *Eikoku Tansaku* devoted most attention to the rules operating in international ports and the diplomatic customs that applied, thus reflecting the *bakufu*'s immediate preoccupation with the treaty ports. Eight of the 40 sections in the report specifically related to conditions in ports including a detailed survey of the port of Liverpool. Unlike Tokugawa Japan, there was no comparable tradition of exclusion to be found in Britain, and the researchers felt compelled to explain that 'every country wishes to increase trade coming through its harbours, and there is no question of forbidding foreign ships putting into port'.<sup>51</sup> While the *bakufu* had the task of organising treaty ports, the *tansaku* researchers could find no parallels in Britain. On the subject of building and cleaning roads, the report pointed out that 'funds are raised first by the government and the lords, and

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a. 東禅寺



by officers and townspeople, including those on the outskirts of town. There is no segregating of foreigners into special settlements, so they are all treated in the same way'.<sup>52</sup> Particular attention was given to security problems, from harbour surveillance and quarantine to customs control. Detailed figures were even presented on the rent of the Dutch embassy building in London including the dimensions of each room.

According to Matsuzawa, *Eikoku Tansaku* also 'recorded in detail the new industries and military technology that supported the prosperity of Britain'.<sup>53</sup> There were certainly some descriptions of munitions factories, gasworks in relation to street lighting, steam trains and telegraph technology. Most industries, however, were conspicuous by their absence. There was no reference at all to textile factories and the steel mills of the industrial north. Just three lines were reserved for British produce, though this did include the note that 'goods are often imported and used to manufacture products for export'.<sup>54</sup> Another subject conspicuous by its near absence was schooling, although this appeared in more detail in other *tansaku* reports on Russia and France. In *Eikoku Tansaku*, however, schools merited just eight lines in the section on hospitals and other social institutions, and this in spite of the attention paid to the importance of ability in public office. Hospitals like Kings Cross and St. Johns, meanwhile, perhaps captured the interest of the two doctors in the *tansaku* research team, and were presented in some detail. Institutions like asylums and schools for the deaf and dumb also received some attention, perhaps suggesting that the researchers' own special fields impinged on the balance of their presentation of general education in Britain.

Ultimately, *Eikoku Tansaku* closely reflected the order made by the *bakufu* authorities before the Takenouchi mission left Japan. The report showed an awareness of politics and law, though largely confined to the government's immediate concerns over the treaty ports. It revealed in its attention to military detail a strong interest in defence with Britain occasionally referred to as a potential adversary. The range and detail of information used in the report was unprecedented in depth, though much of it was still transmitted in Dutch, particularly in the analyses of social structure and politics. The range of interest in *Eikoku Tansaku*, however, remained largely confined to the

political needs of the government that ordered the report, and showed little concern for aspects of society deemed irrelevant to the administration of Japan. Subjects ranging from religion, history and geography to cultural aspects of life in Britain were not addressed by the *bakufu* government of the early 1860s.

#### Seiyō Jijō and the 1862 bakufu mission to Europe

As Carmen Blacker has observed, 'Seiyō Jijō was indeed an epoch-making work'.<sup>1</sup> Here was the first published research on conditions in the West to draw on personal experience of both America and Europe. Even if those experiences were accumulated within the confined context of *bakufu* missions, they did involve an impressive number of official visits, courtesy of the hospitality encouraged by western diplomats like Harris and Alcock.

After returning to Japan, Fukuzawa lost little time in drawing on the notes he had made during the course of his duties as one of the *tansaku* research team in Europe. While the official *tansaku* reports were kept hidden in Nijō Castle, the publication of his *Seiyō Jijō* made available to readers in Japan some of the knowledge so painstakingly gathered and edited during the *bakufu* mission in Europe. By 1864, a manuscript of *Seiyō Jijō* was already in circulation. The *bakufu* retainer Okada Setsuzō<sup>a</sup> who took part in Shibata Takenaka's 1865 mission to France and Britain could thus declare that his motive in keeping a diary was to report on new developments that had emerged since Fukuzawa's visit to Europe.<sup>2</sup> The manuscript was published in 1866 as the first volume of *Seiyō Jijō*, and soon 150,000 copies had been sold. Central to the success of the work was the easily comprehensible style that Fukuzawa deliberately adopted to introduce with clarity to Japanese readers the range of social institutions he had encountered on his own round of travels.

The perspective of Britain Fukuzawa presented closely reflects the concerns voiced in *Eikoku Tansaku* with two notable exceptions. Although the *bakufu* report had referred to technology where relevant to the *tansaku* order, Fukuzawa presented concise and glowing description of steam engines, telegraphs and other technical wonders of the Victorian age, promoting an awareness of their potential utility to Japan. There was also little information to be found in the *bakufu* report relating to the British Empire, but Fukuzawa clearly felt that

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a. 岡田攝蔵

some explanation was necessary. In this context, he presented not so much a belligerent power, but identified instead a liberal political tradition as a major factor in the development of Britain's growing influence around the world.

He had thus returned to the agenda of Takano and Watanabe in looking beyond the confines of western science alone, and pointed out in the opening lines of his preface that the study of military technology was harmful without an understanding of politics and custom.<sup>3</sup> This reflected a growing conviction among the more perceptive early overseas travellers that the exclusive concern with technology emphasized by Sakuma Shōzan was an inadequate approach to western studies. Matsuki Kōan, for example, later recalled that, in the 1850s, 'the only subjects studied were medicine, science, physics, astronomy, gunnery, and perhaps a certain amount of history and geography. There was no research at all on politics and law'.<sup>4</sup>

The opening chapter of the first volume of *Seiyō Jijō* consisted of 25 concise sections introducing aspects of government, social institutions and the latest technology, from orphanages, asylums, libraries and museums to steam engines, telegraphs, gas lamps and newspapers. This reflected closely the round of tours the *bakufu* party had experienced in Europe in 1862 and also the content of *Eikoku Tansaku*. There was, however, much less emphasis on details of port regulations and military affairs, for the reader Fukuzawa envisaged was no *bakufu* official preoccupied with organising treaty ports and coastal defences. There was nothing on the rent of consulates, piloting regulations or the organisation of foreign settlements. In their place, more weight was given to the range of institutions and modern technology that he had observed.

Although Fukuzawa drew on diverse examples from various countries and set out to present a balanced view, Britain featured in as many as three-quarters of these general descriptions. Consciously or not, he appears to have been viewing Britain as a yardstick by which all else in the West could at least be measured, if not judged. Commenting on the motive behind his writings, he later admitted to having hoped that his works could help to 'form a great nation in this far Orient, which would stand counter to Great Britain of the West'.<sup>5</sup> Although more sophisticated and with the weight of personal experience behind him, this

premise was identical to that of Honda Toshiaki nearly seventy years before.

This keen awareness of affairs in Britain coincided with the sharp decline of Dutch studies in Japan. Fukuzawa mentioned Holland in passing just five times in his general descriptions at the start of *Seiyō Jijō*. The party of students that the *bakufu* sent to Holland in late 1862 was to be the first and last of its kind. Even before their departure, Matsuki Kōan had written from Europe to inform two of them that 'things in Britain, France and Prussia are worth more than a hundred of anything in Holland, and when we get back to Japan, none of us will be recommending anyone to embark on Dutch studies. Many scholars in Britain and France have just frowned when I told them that I read Dutch books, and I have given up telling anyone for shame'.<sup>6</sup>

Nevertheless, as in the case of *Eikoku Tansaku*, Fukuzawa was still relying heavily on Dutch information in these early pages of *Seiyō Jijō*. In the first section on the theme of politics, he observed that, 'according to a political expert in Europe, there are six conditions for civilized politics' He then presented a list close in form to his notes in *Seikō Techō* and strikingly similar to the conditions for civilized politics outlined by the Dutch physician 'Shinmon Berihente' in *Eikoku Tansaku*. A comparison of all three works clearly suggests that the political expert he was citing was this 'Berihente'.<sup>7</sup>

The first volume of *Seiyō Jijō* concluded with introductory profiles of three countries, with 24 pages on the United States, five on Holland, and 35 on Britain. Fukuzawa intended to present profiles of Russia, France, Portugal and Prussia in subsequent, as yet unwritten, volumes. These all consisted of sections on history, politics, military affairs and finance, though the profile of Britain also included an appendix listing the country's overseas colonies. Much of the information concerning politics, military affairs and finance was drawn directly from the *tansaku* investigations of 1862. These Fukuzawa prefaced with simple historical narratives drawn from his background reading.

Fukuzawa presented a simple narrative of British history, tracing the succession of monarchs and their respective wars. Religion was mentioned, but only in as much as it related to the question of the succession in the sixteenth and

seventeenth centuries. He presented no description of education as such, and stated that there were no laws concerning education in British schools. This partly explains why the subject appeared so briefly in *Eikoku Tansaku*. Unable to find a coordinated educational policy at government level, Fukuzawa pondered over the causes of Britain's successes in technological innovation and declared: 'there are people who say that British school educational law is inferior to that in countries like Prussia and Holland, but it is difficult to know if this is true or not. The reason why the British surpass others in academic and scientific fields is not due to any educational system as such, but simply due to liberal laws which allow people to develop their natural talents without constraint'.<sup>8</sup>

In *Seiyō Jijō*, less attention was paid to the British army than in *Eikoku Tansaku*. There was only brief mention of the latest weaponry that had been presented in such detail by the *tansaku* researchers and no reference to the volunteer militia they had described. Instead there was a list of Royal Navy shipping, again reflecting the belief that Britain's military strength lay at sea. Fukuzawa pointed out that 'Britain does not necessarily possess great numbers of soldiers to match her great power. Measured as a proportion of soldiers to the general population, Britain has the fewest regular soldiers of any country in Europe'.<sup>9</sup>

In describing the system of finance and government revenue in Britain, Fukuzawa relied greatly on the statistics compiled by the *tansaku* researchers in 1862. *Seiyō Jijō* expressed admiration for Britain's tax system, claiming that, while taxes there were the highest in Europe, they were also the most equitable. In his opinion, the hardship experienced by the poor was the result of high prices rather than tyrannous taxes, and he was perhaps already visualising Britain in terms of a model for imitation when he declared that 'the high price of food and clothing should in no way be a source of distress. On the contrary, it should bring happiness to the country, for if people have to suffer in order to make ends meet, they will have no choice but to promote industry, resulting in new inventions that will benefit the nation'.<sup>10</sup>

Fukuzawa's growing tendency to express approval of Britain was also shown

clearly in the appendix on overseas colonies. In this he refuted the popular belief, evident in geographical works of the *sakoku* period, that the possession of colonies was a parasitical arrangement designed to drain resources away from conquered nations. He presented colonies as not so much a source of wealth, but a burden on the imperial power. 'The only reason Britain still holds onto Canada is that the military presence there enforces the peace', he wrote, and calculated that 'these troops cost no less than £150,000 every year, which is more than the profit the British receive from the colony'.<sup>11</sup> He stressed that, with the exception of India, no taxes levied in these overseas possessions found their way to Britain. 'It is a great mistake', he concluded, 'to think of Britain's prosperity coming from the extent of her colonies'.<sup>12</sup>

The one benefit Fukuzawa could see in colonies was the opportunity to find space for surplus population and set out figures showing the numbers emigrating annually to Canada, America, Australia and elsewhere. Refuting empire as a source of power, he turned to indigenous factors to explain Britain's extensive influence. In his view, 'Britain has a prosperous and powerful civilization surpassing that of others due to geographical convenience, the wealth of products, the talent of the people and the equitability of the politics'.<sup>13</sup> He was perhaps including manufactured products in addition to natural products, but this analysis is a striking contrast to that of economic theorists like Honda and Satō who, half a century before, had wondered how a wretched little island unblessed by any geographical advantage could have achieved such preeminence.

Fukuzawa's preoccupation with politics became increasingly apparent with the publication of subsequent volumes of *Seiyō Jijō* in 1868 and 1870. Instead of continuing with profiles of Russia, France, Portugal and Prussia as originally intended, he chose to present in the second volume some translations from *Chambers' Educational Course; Political Economy for Use in Schools and for Private Instruction*, a work published by W. and R. Chambers of London in 1852. This was a book he had bought in Britain four years before. He also included selected translations from other works to present a more detailed general description of political structure in the West. This comprised sections on themes such as the family, human rights, a detailed survey of the role of government, law and custom, private property, copyright laws, and even included

two short biographies of Watt and Stephenson to illustrate the idea of progress through competition.

As Fukuzawa was now relying predominantly on English texts for his information, the Anglophile traits hinted at in the opening volume of *Seiyō Jijō* became increasingly apparent in his work. He was presenting the ideas of British writers to Japanese readers, supplanting the influence of Dutch scholars that had still dominated *Eikoku Tansaku* and much of the first volume of *Seiyō Jijō*. He even managed to describe British rule in India without referring to the Indian Mutiny, although this had long since been reported in Japan. In his analysis, 'people in India are now so used to being ruled from outside that they are loath to form their own government, and would not accept independence even if the British offered it to them. In times past, they suffered violent misrule under their own government, but the generous laws and fair government under British rule have now made their lives safer. They fear that if the British left, they would once again be oppressed by tyranny'.<sup>14</sup> Similarly, Fukuzawa was perhaps reflecting the desires of British merchants and diplomats when he wrote that 'many people from these countries (colonies) would not wish for war with Britain, as it is by selling her their goods that they make their profit. Moreover, there are many who pray for peace and stability because, in the event of war, they would lose their trade with Britain which they know could only cause them harm'.<sup>15</sup>

The last volume of *Seiyō Jijō* was published in 1870. Fukuzawa again included previously unscheduled material which underlined the growing academic interests that characterised his works thereafter. Just as in the second volume he had elaborated on topics of government and finance, he now used translations from another British book, *Commentaries on the Laws of England* (1765-69) by W. Blackstone, to develop a more detailed account of liberalism, and an American economics book to expand on the theme of taxation.<sup>16</sup> The work was concluded with belated profiles of Russia and France including a lengthy section on French history, but there was no longer space, or even perhaps the will, to present the scheduled profiles of Portugal or Prussia.

Fukuzawa's work was so successful that it naturally provoked imitation, and for

a while, his name became synonymous with all books relating to the West. Published in 1869, *Kaichi Shinpen* [*New Edition on Opened Lands*] is a good example. This was compiled by Hashizume Kan'ichi,<sup>a</sup> a low-ranking official in the *bakufu* navy, who seems to have had access to the original *tansaku* reports from the 1862 *bakufu* mission to Europe. Nakano Yoshimichi has demonstrated that *Kaichi Shinpen* was nothing more than a reduced and rearranged version of the reports compiled by Fukuda Sakutarō.<sup>17</sup> It was not widely read, however, and the presentation was so confused that Hashizume may even have restructured the reports specifically in order to avoid comparison with the original source material. He perhaps realised that Fukuzawa's bestseller relied heavily on *bakufu* records he too had seen, and hoped to earn some reward by planning a work on similar lines.<sup>18</sup>

Through its analysis of politics and law, *Seiyō Jijō* certainly introduced the Japanese reader to structural components of Victorian society that were far beyond the scope of *Eikoku Tansaku*. In addition to describing technological innovations, Fukuzawa laid emphasis on the need for a wider study of politics and custom. Although there was one passage in the second volume entitled 'law and custom', however, his own interests lay more in the fields of politics and law than in custom as such, for this was addressed sporadically, and only in as much as it related directly to the practice of government. *Seiyō Jijō*, for example, displayed no positive interest in the subject of religion in Britain. Apart from brief references in the historical narrative explaining Tudor and Stuart lines of succession, religion was only mentioned in a passage on government expenditure in the last volume which argued against using government revenue to fund religious organisations.

In spite of its impact, therefore, *Seiyō Jijō* did not approach a comprehensive portrayal of Victorian society. It gave no background information on geography and climate, themes which were perhaps considered unnecessary given the geographical works available. More significantly, there was little indication of everyday social customs. In spite of his wide reading, Fukuzawa was not qualified to expound on the pattern of everyday life, for this he had only seen in hotel lobbies or on tours of inspection as a member of the *bakufu* mission. He had never lived abroad. As a result, *Seiyō Jijō* still reflected the

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a. 橋爪巖一著「開地新編」



constraints of both the *tansaku* order and the *bakufu* mission's programme of official visits. A Japanese student who had spent any length of time in Britain in the mid-1860s would find little in *Seiyō Jijō* to convey an impression of his daily experience there. It was perhaps an awareness of such gaps in Fukuzawa's work and in his appreciation of Victorian society that partly inspired one student, Nomura Fumio, to publish an account of his own research on conditions in the West.

#### *Seiyō Bunken Roku* and student life in Britain

Nomura Fumio's *Seiyō Bunken Roku* was published in eight volumes between 1869 and 1870. Although the title suggested a record of observations throughout the West, this work was devoted almost entirely to Britain, reflecting the author's own experience as a student there. Nomura admitted as much in the foreword, but the fact that it could be presented in this way at all was an indication of the extent to which Victorian affairs were then attracting the curiosity of readers in Japan, a tendency only enhanced by Fukuzawa's *Seiyō Jijō*.

For a *samurai* in the mid-1860s, no matter how many works in Dutch, Chinese or Japanese he might have studied, an extended stay in Britain was an opportunity to entirely reshape his perceptions of the outside world. After two years in Britain, for example, the Satsuma students reported to their *han* in 1867 that, 'when we arrived in this country, we knew little and everything we saw took our breath away. With the passage of time, however, we have finally become qualified to make our own critical appraisals of affairs around us'.<sup>1</sup> Nakamura Masanao, the *bakufu* student who arrived shortly after Nomura later remarked that Wei Yuan's *Kaikoku Zushi*, 'the Chinese text he had read before going to England had not prepared him to understand how such a tiny nation, let alone one ruled by a woman, could have humbled the Middle Kingdom in war'.<sup>2</sup> This then was Nomura's agenda; to bring the knowledge acquired as a student in Britain to bear upon contemporary Japanese understanding of the western world.

*Seiyō Bunken Roku* proved to be a popular work and had a great impact on Japanese readers' perspectives of Britain. In style it recalled earlier geographical works of the *tansaku* research tradition, featuring copious statistics on every theme presented. In 1928, Osatake Takeshi wrote that, 'although there were

various specialist books published relating to western military and medical texts, science, geography, history and others, it was this book that, after *Seiyō Jijō*, did most to fix clearly the general outline of the west in the minds of the Japanese'.<sup>3</sup> Moreover, he considered it superior to *Seiyō Jijō* as a reference work. In spite of the impact of the ideas in *Seiyō Bunken Roku*, however, as Kitane Yutaka has pointed out more recently, it would not be going too far to say that research relating to Nomura Fumio has been non-existent.<sup>4</sup>

Born in 1836, Nomura was an officer of the Aki *han* in Hiroshima.<sup>5</sup> Between 1843 and 1877, he used the name Murata which is how he appears in all Japanese and English documents of the time. After receiving a training in *rangaku* studies at Ogata Kōan's renowned *Teki juku* school in Ōsaka, he became a senior official in the *han* navy.<sup>a</sup> In late 1862, he was ordered to Nagasaki to purchase a warship from Hizen, and there he first met Ishimaru Toragorō, a Hizen officer who was studying English and already on familiar terms with the Scottish merchant, Thomas Blake Glover.<sup>6</sup> In 1865, he was in Nagasaki again to study English, and when Glover offered Ishimaru a chance to study overseas, he escaped together with Nomura and Mawatari Hachirō, another English expert from Hizen. After a long voyage around the Cape of Good Hope, the three travellers arrived in London on 27 March 1866, and sailed the following day for Glover's home town of Aberdeen.

In his *Seiyō Bunken Roku*, Nomura does not name any individuals he met abroad, but he must have been influenced by his tutor, identified in his diary as 'Fraser', who gave the three new arrivals daily lessons in English grammar, mathematics and geography. There is little information on Nomura's activities in Aberdeen, for only the first month or so of his diary records there have survived intact. From the autumn of 1866, however, his pattern of study seems to have changed, as an Aberdeen newspaper reported in October the following year that one of the Japanese students, 'Mr. Francis Murata, has been under the instruction of Mr. J. R. Jones of the Board of Trade Navigation School, during the last twelve months and has made very considerable progress'. The article noted that 'Mr. Murata leaves for Japan in a few days, and we trust that the knowledge which he and others will take home with them, will do a great deal towards extending both friendly and commercial relations between this country

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a. 緒方洪庵、適塾

and Japan'.<sup>7</sup>

After leaving Aberdeen, Nomura travelled to London via Edinburgh and Newcastle. He then made a brief visit to France in time for the last few days of the Paris Exposition where he is known to have met other Hizen officers and the *bakufu* student Akamatsu Taisaburō. Returning to London, he then sailed once again around the Cape of Good Hope before reaching Nagasaki in early 1868. He had spent a long time at sea on his voyages to and from Britain. In the interim, he had spent nearly eighteen months in Aberdeen, three weeks or so in London and five days in Paris, and it was on the strength of this experience that he compiled his *Seiyō Bunken Roku*.<sup>8</sup>

Nomura used his navigational training to a certain extent in later years, and held government posts in the *Kōbushō* and *Naimushō* related to surveying, engineering and geography.<sup>a</sup> He felt unsuited to government service, however, and left to pursue a career in journalism, founding *Maru-maru Chinbun*<sup>b</sup> in 1877. This was a satirical illustrated magazine based on *Punch* which, in spite of incurring the displeasure of the authorities in its early years, went on to enjoy some popularity throughout the Meiji period. Nomura died in 1891 at the age of 56.<sup>9</sup>

In their range of subject matter, there are obvious similarities between *Seiyō Bunken Roku* and *Seiyō Jijō*, and both feature sections on political structure, social institutions, government revenue and expenditure, and military affairs. In his foreword, Nomura included *Seiyō Jijō* in a list of Japanese works that he had referred to when compiling his research. Other books he acknowledged were Kanda Kōhei's *Keizai Shōgaku* (1867), a translation of the Dutch version of William Ellis' *Outlines of Social Economy*, in addition to Tsuda Mamichi's *Taisei Kokuhō Ron* [*Essay on Law in Western Countries*] and *Eisei Ikan* [*State of British Politics*], both of which were translated into Japanese from Dutch sources and published in 1868.<sup>c</sup>

Nomura, however, appears to have made a conscious effort to address themes which Fukuzawa had either avoided or ignored, Volume One, for example, began with detailed sections on geography and the everyday customs and manners he had

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a. 工部省、内務省

b. 「国々珍聞」

c. 神田孝平著「経済小学」、「泰西国法論」、「英政如何」

observed in Britain, subject matter conspicuously absent in *Seiyō Jijō*. Particular attention was paid to the impact of religion on both politics and everyday life, an area Fukuzawa had assiduously avoided, and educational institutions in Britain were as much stressed in *Seiyō Bunken Roku* as they were ignored in *Seiyō Jijō*. Above all, whereas Fukuzawa had shown unreserved enthusiasm for the technological wonders he had seen in the west, Nomura laid emphasis on not only the social benefits of industrial progress but also some of the problems it had served to create, problems which only an extended stay abroad could reveal.

*Seiyō Jijō* had presented concise images of the structure of government and social institutions in the West, achieving clarity of description through abstract objectivity. In contrast, *Seiyō Bunken Roku* gave a clearer indication of some of the complexities at work in British society, and intentionally so with its detailed descriptions of everyday customs. Fukuzawa was so concerned with structure that he presented only shadowy portraits of individuals within his theoretical framework. The European voices discernible in *Seiyō Jijō* were almost exclusively drawn from written texts. Perhaps the only clear voice that could be traced back to Fukuzawa's interviews in Britain was that of the 'political expert' in Europe who, as we have seen, was probably the unknown Dutch doctor 'Berihente'.

Nomura and other students returning to Japan may have been struck by the lack of human interest to be found in *Seiyō Jijō*. In contrast, *Seiyō Bunken Roku* featured a multitude of voices. Some of Nomura's information was naturally drawn from written works like the geographical introduction by a certain 'McKay'<sup>a</sup> and newspapers and journals like the *Young Ladies* magazine.<sup>10</sup> Nevertheless, there were also numerous sections, particularly relating to religion and everyday customs, that can only have been paraphrased accounts of actual conversations held during his student days in Britain. Nomura himself mentioned in his foreword that much of his material was derived from daily conversations with his teacher and friends which he had recorded in his diary.<sup>11</sup> This was a new dimension in the development of Japanese *tansaku* investigations of Britain. While both *Eikoku Tansaku* and *Seiyō Jijō* had been limited in scope by the constraints of *bakufu* diplomatic missions, Nomura was able to draw on a longer

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a. マケイ

and closer exposure to the individuals and society that became the subject of study in his *Seiyō Bunken Roku*.

Nomura's opportunities for research in Britain, although almost unprecedented at the time, were not without their constraints. He claimed to have spent almost four years in Britain but, although he had left Japan in 1865 and arrived back early in 1868, he had actually spent no more than one year and seven months in Europe itself.<sup>12</sup> Such exaggeration was a not uncommon trait among returning students of the day whose admiring compatriots were apt to judge the degree of their heroism by the length of their ordeal abroad.<sup>13</sup> Moreover, all but six weeks or so of Nomura's European experience was actually confined to student life in Aberdeen. Reading *Seiyō Bunken Roku* with this in mind, a Scottish or even Grampian flavour is clearly discernible at times. His comment that western houses were constructed of stone polished by steam-power, for example, was probably a reference to the granite industry of Aberdeen, something he had first-hand experience of himself.<sup>14</sup>

In the opening pages of *Seiyō Bunken Roku*, Nomura described the climate and geography of Britain. He thought the climate cold and inclement overall, with strong winds throughout the year and lots of mist, light rain and cloud. This again recalled conditions in Aberdeen, for he described the weather there in similar terms shortly after his arrival in March 1866, complaining in his diary how strong winds even made it difficult to walk.<sup>15</sup> His was nevertheless the most accurate published account to date. Unlike Japan, he noted, there was no rainy season, and consequently little flood in spite of the profusion of rivers. He also drew on written sources more refined than any yet available in Japan to point out that some parts of Britain were warmer than others, and that Ireland was called the Emerald Isle due to its mild climate. Like Honda before him, he compared the latitudes of Britain and Kamchatka, explaining that Britain was much warmer because it was an island without high mountains, though he made no reference to the impact of sea currents. He did note, however, that, 'as Britain lies eighteen degrees latitude north of Japan, the sun rises at ten and sets at four during the winter, so that there are only three of our daylight hours'.<sup>16</sup>

Nomura described the landscape in Britain as not thickly vegetated, but covered with fine layers of grass 'naturally suited to raising cows and sheep', so much so that there were almost as many sheep as people. He introduced varieties of arable crops, noting that the large volume of cereal crops explained why 'the British usually drink beer, while the French drink wine'. He listed details of the native diet with a table of average annual food consumption in London, a city he described as boasting no less than 800 coffee houses. Unlike Japan, he stressed, Britain was not self-sufficient in natural products and imported fruit and other rare goods from abroad, hence the high price of bamboo ware. These details substantiated a pattern already pointed out in *Eikoku Tansaku*, and he suggested that it was a natural poverty of resources that had resulted in the growth of trade in the West as a whole, an idea again reminiscent of Honda 70 years before.<sup>17</sup>

Nomura completed his geographical introduction to Britain by describing places of interest, drawing on information from 'McKay's text to present what amounted to a brief guide for the then increasing numbers of Japanese overseas travellers. A precedent had already been set in Fukuzawa's *Seiyō Tabi Annai*<sup>a</sup> [*Guide to Travel in the West*], published in late 1867. Nomura's account was largely restricted to statistical and historical presentations of famous sites in London such as St. Pauls Cathedral, Windsor Castle, the Houses of Parliament, Crystal Palace and the Tower of London.<sup>18</sup> Scotland again featured more than other parts of Britain, and natural curiosities like Fingal's Cave and the Giant's Causeway were also mentioned. In his description of the Victorian capital, he drew on a lengthy description in his diary to write an unusually literary passage declaring London to be the 'greatest metropolis of the five oceans' with its tens of thousands of ships in harbour, its mountains of goods and densely packed population. He likened London with its commercial prosperity to Ōsaka, and Paris to Kyōto, a variation on the comment made in a letter by Matsuki Kōan during the 1862 *bakufu* mission that 'everybody says how much Paris is like Kyōto, while London is like Edo'.<sup>19</sup>

This geographical prologue served as the background to his presentation of Victorian society, an approach he used to support his theory that mankind was fundamentally homogeneous, in spite of superficial cultural differences. He

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a. 「西洋旅案内」

found an adversary in Rutherford Alcock who, in *The Capital of the Tycoon*, had pointed out how diametrically opposed their respective customs appeared, citing examples such as writing from left to right in Britain and right to left in Japan, and storing books vertically in Britain and horizontally in Japan. Interestingly, although Japanese diaries do not reveal comparable observations, some of the first Chinese embassy officials to travel overseas in the late 1870s noted in their journals that 'everything in England is the opposite of China', and that 'there is nothing here that is not the opposite of China'.<sup>20</sup>

Nomura would have cited such observations as evidence of their superficial understanding of the culture in question. He was scathing about *The Capital of the Tycoon*, writing in his introduction that, 'although Alcock made a record of his three-year stay, his enquiries into conditions in Japan took him only to the gates of the Empire'.<sup>21</sup> He explained how difficult it was for people in the West to learn Japanese, a point underlined by common misapprehensions they held. 'In the past,' he noted, 'westerners have believed there to be two emperors in Japan, one spiritual and one temporal'.<sup>22</sup> He then refuted Alcock's ideas by pointing out common characteristics to be found in Japan and Britain. He cited proverbs with close equivalents in both English and Japanese such as 'Time flies like an arrow'.<sup>a</sup> He noticed how childrens' games like 'Blind Man's Buff' and 'Hide and Seek' resembled those in Japan. He reported that people in Britain 'call us Chinese just as people in Edo call foreigners Americans and people in Nagasaki call them Dutch'. The themes and emotions portrayed in the theatre were identical, he argued, an idea he drew from his Aberdeen diary in which he had recorded shortly after his arrival: 'we went to a theatre in Union Street and saw several plays; the acting, music and speech varied not in the slightest from that in Japan'.<sup>23</sup> In his view, some English verse resembled that of Japan and China. All these points in common he explained were innate characteristics of mankind, the result of 'natural reason'.<sup>24</sup>

Nomura was at his most perceptive when commenting on social customs which he had observed during his student days abroad. By reporting comments as he had heard them, he was able to reveal to Japanese readers some of the social attitudes in Victorian Britain. He was intrigued by the courtesy paid to women which appeared novel in the eyes of a *samurai*. 'The most curious custom in the west is the

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a. 「光陰矢如」

practice of ladies first', he wrote, and asked 'is this not a reversal of status? When a lady stands up, a gentleman has no choice but to stand up too. A gentleman offers his chair to a lady, takes off his hat when they meet, and it is considered disrespectful to sit down and smoke in her presence, for a western lady does not smoke. Furthermore, widows remarry openly, and in well-to-do middle-class families, while the husband goes out and works hard, the wife engages in no housework, and labours over none of the cooking, cleaning and additional chores that occupy women in Japan. She simply does as she pleases and passes the time sewing or making music'. Nomura recalled that 'when I asked a native about this, he told me that women are weaker and slower than men and thus unsuited to handling business'. He was informed that these courtesies were the result of men's love and affection for the weaker sex, but considered this 'a distorted explanation'. Here he had observed and presented the outward manifestations of a wider social issue, in this case the tradition of chivalry. Even if he sometimes misunderstood the signals he observed, he nonetheless portrayed with clarity the attitudes of living Victorians. As a result, his introduction to social custom abroad was a revelation to Japanese readers in 1869.<sup>25</sup>

Nomura's descriptions of the treatment of guests in Britain, also reveal to a certain extent the assumptions of Japanese readers at the time. He felt compelled to explain that, 'even if special guests arrive, the host will serve drinks if they want some, but nothing if they refuse. Nor is there any custom of pushing guests to accept, for if they want more, they will ask by themselves'. He also noted that cake and drinks were served but rarely outside mealtimes, and pointed out that entertainment consisted of listening to the piano or harp and also dancing.<sup>26</sup> The temperament of these people he described as comparatively quick of mind and decision, but also excitable. In a passage that perhaps reflects on the company he kept, but also recalls views taken by Watanabe Kazan from Dutch geographies thirty years before, he noted that 'they easily get into arguments over everyday matters, and will defend their own position come what may, so that in the end they often settle matters with a wager'.<sup>27</sup>

The houses in which Victorians lived were described in enough detail in *Seiyō*



*Bunken Roku* to conjure up images of a cityscape in the mind's eye of the reader in Japan. These he described as four or five storeys high and built of stone, so that fires were rare, although iron ladders were added as fire escapes. Tiles were made from a stone called slate and windows were paned with glass. The stone construction, he wrote, also accounted for the scarcity of flies and, together with an intricate system of pipes, helped prevent disease. The streets were clean and 'most beautiful at night when the glass (gas) lamps were lit'. Coal was burned for heating due to the scarcity of firewood, but houses were kept clean indoors through the use of chimneys, hence the countless chimneys to be seen on the rooftops.<sup>28</sup>

Nomura described how these houses were used, noting that each family member had their own room and that guest rooms were filled with objects from China, Japan and all over the world. This would certainly have been the case at Braehead Cottage, the Glover family home in Aberdeen, which he frequented as a guest. He mentioned that businessmen of any means would commute to London by train daily from their garden houses in the suburbs. Here there were many open spaces such as Kew Gardens and Richmond Park. Although such images were often confined to relatively comfortable sectors of society, they combined to construct the most graphic portrait yet published in Japan of lifestyle in Victorian Britain.<sup>29</sup>

It was only after this extended presentation of geography and customs that Nomura turned his attention to the political structure of Britain. Like Fukuzawa, he stressed the power of Parliament and the limited role of the monarch, but in more forceful terms. He pointed out that the monarch was not involved in political debate and only attended ceremonial functions at Westminster. He declared that 'the land belongs not to the monarch, but to all the people'. He probably drew from written sources, including *Seiyō Jijō*, in his description of Parliament. Although Fukuzawa had explained the respective roles of the houses of Parliament, the distribution of representation, and introduced the government ministries, he had not mentioned political parties or the actual process of parliamentary debate. In contrast, while he may not have presented a two-party system as such, Nomura did introduce the Tories (Conservatives) and the Whigs (Reform Party) whom he distinguished from the Liberals, explaining that 'the three parties are always contending

with each other and never reach agreement'. While the Japanese reader of *Seiyō Jijō* may have inferred that Britain was governed by some pattern of consensus, Nomura specified that debates were decided by a majority vote and described the process of legislation, noting that a bill could be passed through the Commons and the Lords three times, and that the monarch's signature was required to complete an 'Act of Parliament'.<sup>30</sup>

Nomura was keenly aware of the very different social structure he found in Britain although he could not conceal a certain distaste for the social informality he thought he saw around him. He tried to make the subject more easily comprehensible to his readers by presenting it in terms of the *shinōkōshō*<sup>a</sup> structure familiar to them in Tokugawa society, explaining that 'there are officers, peasants, artisans and merchants, but there is no distinction between them as there is in Japan'. The practice of confining people within specific social groups was, he declared, 'a rare custom among oriental nations'. He described this comparative lack of social restriction as a defining characteristic of Victorian life, pointing out that 'British people call this freedom'. It was this, he wrote in a vein reminiscent of the second volume of *Seiyō Jijō*, that generated the competition necessary for creating new inventions and increasing prosperity.<sup>31</sup>

Nomura still appeared to view British society in essentially hereditary terms, describing officers as a natural ruling class. He used the traditional *samurai* pursuits of literary and military arts as his departure point to define their role: 'in the British system, officers choose between letters and war; civil officials wear civilian clothes, carry no weapons, and take no part in war, even though they may be involved, while military officials wear uniform and carry weapons but take no part in administrative duties'. Even though he acknowledged the importance of freedom in activating technological creativity, he perceived only a limited role for common people in the business of government, pointing out that, 'of those elected, most are from powerful and famous families, and it is the common people who elect them through their *vote*'. He also noted voting restrictions (without mentioning women) and described those unqualified to vote as too poor and uneducated to participate.<sup>32</sup>

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a. 士農工商

Nevertheless, Nomura often emphasised levelling features of British society and stressed how little respect was reserved for the ruling classes. He noted that while richer people tended to stay in more expensive hotels and poorer people in cheaper lodgings, there were no regulations as such which restricted their choice. The law of the land applied equally to both rich and poor, so there was no concept of commuting a sentence to a noble death such as that by suicide permitted to *samurai* in Japan. He was surprised to find common women permitted to use the same name as Queen Victoria, and even recorded with some relish how he had once presented himself at the gates of Balmoral. To his surprise, he was allowed inside the grounds and all the rooms except the queen's own quarters. 'How pathetically easy' he declared: 'in the grounds there was even a potato patch for the queen's use, and I laughed to myself, unaccustomed as I was to all this'.<sup>33</sup>

Nomura devoted much attention to the importance of religion in *Seiyō Bunken Roku*, a theme left unconsidered in both *Eikoku Tansaku* and *Seiyō Jijō*. Students like Nomura were the first Japanese to realise quite the extent to which religion permeated society in Victorian Britain, and he himself had spent only a day in Aberdeen before he was taken to church by his host family.<sup>34</sup> He explained that the three 'pillars' of political structure in Britain were 'religion to teach the people morality, generous government to safeguard their lives, and taxation to supply the nation's needs'.<sup>35</sup> He was interested by outward manifestations of religion in as much as they affected daily custom, noting how the Victorians prayed, and how this differed from practice in Japan. He stressed the simplicity of Protestant services and decoration, and contrasted this with the profusion of statuary that characterised both Catholicism and Buddhism.

Nomura explained the importance of Christmas and Easter as the largest annual festivals and included a biblical explanation of the significance of Sunday as a day of rest, but it was the social implications of this weekly holiday that particularly caught his interest. 'As London is a big city with a large concentration of people from overseas', he noted, 'controls are not as strict as in other cities, but elsewhere, selling alcohol on a Sunday is a serious enough offence to warrant a fine'. He noticed that the impact of a day of rest extended beyond borders, and explained that 'many of the westerners in the

treaty ports in Japan who take a holiday on Sunday and become drunk and disorderly are sailors or servants who, as they are so far away from their own land, are difficult to control and have no care at all'. Back on board ship, however, the captain and the entire crew would gather on Sunday mornings for services in every way like those in a church. Religion was also responsible, he noted, for the vast sums spent and effort expended by missionaries worldwide, reporting that there were as many as 3,611 missionaries then active in Africa.<sup>36</sup>

Nomura was also interested in some characteristic Victorian moral sensibilities. In his diary entry for 25 April 1866, he noted how horrified some Aberdonian had been by a newspaper article reporting a case of ritual suicide (*seppuku*)<sup>a</sup> in Japan. He reproduced this conversation in *Seiyō Bunken Roku* in order to illustrate the Christian aversion to the idea of suicide. In Yokoyama's view, Nomura thought that *seppuku* 'was simply a matter of a law which Japan happened to have, just as Britain had a law which prohibited suicide'.<sup>37</sup> His analysis, however, was perhaps more far-reaching than this, for it transcended the realm of secular law to address Victorian moral awareness. He recorded having been told, for example, that 'life is the gift of the Emperor of Heaven and not the individual's to take'.<sup>38</sup> Similarly, he conveyed the Victorians' distaste of prostitution and slavery, recording their belief that 'the equality of all men is the gift of Heaven', and that 'it is despicable to trade in human beings as if they were beasts or goods'. Whereas Fukuzawa had addressed prostitution as a problem requiring corrective legislation, Nomura focused instead on the moral attitude of society, reporting to the Japanese reader the perspectives of Victorians themselves.<sup>39</sup>

Nomura presented descriptions of all the social institutions and companies introduced in *Seiyō Jijō*, but these contained few striking revelations for the informed Japanese reader and served mainly to contribute relevant statistics to the knowledge already accumulating in early Meiji Japan. He nevertheless paid particular attention to the subject of schools as this had featured so little in previous works. With no easily summarised British code of education as such to hand, he presented a range of well-known educational institutions in and around London such as Charterhouse, St Paul's and Westminster schools. He described the preparatory education available at University College and Kings

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a. 切腹

College in London, but made no mention of the universities of Oxford and Cambridge. He included notes on all these schools' different curricula, and commented that these had well-established grades with regular examinations, and that a nationwide use of certificates prevented deception when finding employment. He was impressed by the apparent literacy throughout society which he observed from seeing servants and poor people reading newspapers and books, and arguing over political affairs of the day. This he felt was due to the simplicity of both English grammar and the alphabet.<sup>40</sup>

Nomura's use of detailed statistics lay behind the success of *Seiyō Bunken Roku* as a reference work, and nowhere was this more apparent than in his description of modern technology. He used diagrams and pictures to provide graphic accounts of the latest technological achievements, and how the *Great Eastern* had recently laid the first telegraph cables across the Atlantic Ocean. He also described the French construction of the Suez Canal, but noted how 'the British take the greatest pride in the transatlantic telegraph cable, the Thames Tunnel and the world's largest ship'. Some of his figures relating to the railways were questionable, as he claimed, for example, that 25 million people had passed through London Bridge Station on Easter Monday in 1865. Nevertheless, his summary of the railway network was comprehensive. He even described the purpose of a station and introduced the concept of a timetable. This he explained was 'a most convenient small booklet recording all the times. Most homes have one, and people carry them around when taking trains and carriages'. While Fukuzawa had presented only the benefits of technological innovations, he also provided figures showing the high incidence of fatal accidents involving steam trains.<sup>41</sup>

Taxation and government revenue were themes that Nomura presented without ever surpassing the clarity of Fukuzawa's description in the second volume of *Seiyō Jijō*. He did, however, mention the Penny Black, and pointed out that income from stamps was a significant source of government revenue. He described a 38-acre reservoir in Stoke Newington from where water was piped first to Islington, and then throughout the capital, pumping 18 million gallons around the city every day and yielding government revenue of £60,000 a year. He also noted how revenue could be derived from courts in the form of fines and bail payments from accused parties and their families.<sup>42</sup>

Nomura's statistical breakdown of the army and navy also lacked any fresh perspective in spite of its detail. Woolwich Arsenal, such a focus of attention for *tansaku* researchers during the 1862 *bakufu* mission, was described only briefly. Unlike Fukuzawa, he thought of Britain's colonies not as a financial burden, but as a source of impetus. While Fukuzawa's interpretation may well have reflected western opinions current earlier in the nineteenth century, Nomura's understanding was perhaps more attuned to the growing receptivity towards imperialist expansion increasingly apparent in the European world following German and Italian unification. He thought the success of British shipyards in winning so many foreign orders was because 'shipping flourishes naturally, for not only is Britain completely surrounded by sea like Japan, but there are also many colonies thousands of miles away across the oceans'. Like Fukuzawa, he portrayed emigration as a positive aspect of colonies, noting how easy it was to go and live overseas, as the government was eager to promote development of the land. Not unsurprisingly perhaps, he also pointed out that eight or nine of every ten emigrants were Scots. He noted that 'Scots have dispersed all over the globe, and many have made their fortune', an ironic comment in the year that his own Scottish benefactor Thomas Glover went bankrupt. The Scots he knew in Aberdeen like the Glover brothers were men who nurtured high expectations of their overseas trade ventures, and he made no mention of the forced land clearances in Scotland as a possible factor in the dispersal of Scots overseas.<sup>43</sup>

Nomura's work did not achieve the revolution in the study of political economy that Fukuzawa managed in *Seiyō Jijō*. His strength lay rather in the range of detail he recorded relating to the culture and social patterns he observed in Britain. In this, he surpassed Fukuzawa by conveying the voices of Victorians he had met during his years there in the late 1860s. He thus took advantage of first-hand experience of daily life overseas to portray a much more richly textured portrait of Britain than that of any work then in circulation in Japan. As such, *Seiyō Bunken Roku* revealed facets of the Victorian world that Japanese students would have observed in Britain, but which often escaped other travellers conducting their investigations on shorter visits. It thus illustrates the impact made by overseas students in introducing further dimensions to the still simplistic portrait of Britain conveyed in *Seiyō Jijō*.

Later works relating to Britain became increasingly more refined and specialised, but such an increased depth of awareness would have been inconceivable without this stage in the Japanese discovery of the Victorian world that *Seiyō Bunken Roku* most clearly represents.

Bei-Ō Kairan Jikki and the Iwakura Embassy

*Tokumei Zenken Taishi Bei-Ō Kairan Jikki* was the official record of the Iwakura embassy compiled by Kume Kunitake, a Confucian scholar from Saga in Hizen based on the journal he kept during his travels overseas between late 1871 and 1873. After three years of editing following his return, it was completed in 1876 and published in five volumes by the government in 1878.<sup>1</sup> The second and longest volume was devoted to the subject of Britain. Mayo has shown that Kume held an admiring view of Britain and that, in his perspective, 'England, for example, was accorded recognition as the world's foremost power, and it was also at the top of the final list as a civilized country'.<sup>2</sup> Although he often gave unreserved praise to the wonders of Victorian Britain, Kume was also critical at times, and his innate social conservatism was apparent throughout. It was his background as a Confucian scholar that had appealed to Iwakura in appointing him to record the embassy's travels, so that *Kairan Jikki* was also able to address the many Japanese who were loath to abandon their traditional educational heritage. It conveyed the authoritarianism of an official work reacting to the radicalism of the then growing movement for liberal rights. While presenting an unprecedented range of subject matter, it focused above all on the components of material power, a trait more reminiscent of an official report like *Eikoku Tansaku* than either *Seiyō Jijō* or *Seiyō Bunken Roku*. As such it can be seen as an effort to channel and contain the flood of new social and political ideas of the early Meiji years.

*Kairan Jikki* was compiled and published at a time when students venturing overseas were increasingly specialising in confined disciplines. Kume's attempt to understand western civilization as a whole and then present his findings in a comprehensive work recalls the first overseas *tansaku* investigations of the early 1860s. Unlike *tansaku* writers before him, however, Kume was no expert of western studies and had no background in Dutch, let alone English. Although widely read and with a keen interest in history, it was by official appointment

that Kume became an avid student of conditions in the west. Mayo has noted how Kume read works by scholars like Watanabe and Takano, achieved a grounding in overseas geography, culture and history from works like Wei Yüan's *Kaikoku Zushi*, *Renpō Shiryaku* [Short History of the Western World] by Mitsukuri Genpo (1864), *Rinkan Shiryaku* [Short History of the World] by Hsü Chi-yü (1861), and read up on economics in Kanda Kōhei's *Keizai Shōgaku* (1867).<sup>a</sup>

Although Kume's knowledge was bookish, he was able to consult with a number of specialists in western studies, whether in Saga, Nagasaki or Tokyo, some of whom had already been overseas themselves. After all, Kume arrived in Britain in 1872, ten years after Fukuzawa and six years after Nomura, a matter of just a few years but a whole generation in the development of Japanese knowledge of life overseas. Mayo has pointed out that Kume's volumes 'were certainly far superior to Fukuzawa's earlier effort, *Seiyō Jijō*', stressing that 'the *Jikki* is also valuable as a counterbalance to the opinions of Fukuzawa Yukichi and his followers, to whom historians have given deserved but inordinate attention in analyzing the civilization and enlightenment movement of the 1870s'.<sup>3</sup> This is certainly so, but the leap in sophistication discernible between *Seiyō Jijō* and *Kairan Jikki* cannot be understood without referring specifically to the additional information, written or spoken, that had been flooding into Japan during the twelve years between Fukuzawa's first voyage overseas and Kume's travels in the West. This information, represented most clearly by Nomura's *Seiyō Bunken Roku*, came predominantly from the first generation of students who had lived overseas, and it was their knowledge that Kume drew upon most of all.

A good example of this can be traced to Kume's home town of Saga where he had long been a close friend of the same Ishimaru Toragorō who had escaped to Scotland with Nomura and Mawatari in late 1865. Nomura's diary demonstrates that Ishimaru's experience had much in common with his own, and they were both tutored by 'Fraser' in Aberdeen. After two years in Aberdeen and London, including trips to Belgium and Paris, Ishimaru returned to Hizen in mid-1868 and quickly reassumed his long-established role as the *han*'s source of all knowledge on the subject of Britain. In 1869 he was ordered to transform Hizen's fleet into a British-style navy.<sup>4</sup> The *han* also turned to him for information on British politics because, as Kume lamented, while *Renpō Shiryaku* and *Seiyō*

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a. 箕作阮甫著「聯邦志略」、徐繼畲著「瀛環志略」



*Jijō* gave a clear introduction to the U.S. constitution, there were no adequate explanations of Parliament in *Eisei Ikan* or *Eikoku Shi*,<sup>a</sup> a short history of Britain published in 1861.<sup>5</sup> The biography of the *daimyō* of Saga also related with a flourish how, on one occasion, 'Kume Kunitake had gone to a Nagasaki hospital to receive treatment to his eye when Ishimaru visited him, and told him to desist from wasting candlelight in the darkness for the dawn of civilization had arrived'.<sup>6</sup>

It was Ishimaru who first informed Kume that he was ordered to travel overseas, as a retainer in the service of Nabeshima Naohiro.<sup>7</sup> Ishimaru himself was to be the guide and, at a Nagasaki hotel on their way to Tokyo, he instructed the party in the art of eating with knives and forks.<sup>8</sup> Illness and his subsequent appointment as first head of the Telegraph Office in August 1871 then prevented him from joining the party. Nevertheless, his influence over the western education of Kume Kunitake was again apparent during the summer months before the Iwakura embassy embarked. As preparations for departure progressed, 'Kume visited the hospital in Shimono where Ishimaru was receiving treatment every evening, and while translating texts on American history, he asked him questions on all subjects which he then reported back to Nabeshima'.<sup>9</sup>

Kume was also influenced by Hatakeyama Yoshinari, another former Japanese student in Britain, who accompanied him during his travels in the West. Hatakeyama was one of the Satsuma students sent to Britain in 1865, and although a staunch supporter of the *jōi* movement before he left, had gone on to live at the Christian colony by Lake Erie founded by the unorthodox American preacher, Thomas Lake Harris. As Mayo has noted, Hatakeyama was 'much admired for his scholarship, fine character, and continued devotion to his country in spite of his conversion to Christianity and exposure to Western learning'.<sup>10</sup> After the Iwakura embassy, he returned to Japan to become the first president of the *Kaisei Gakkō* college and was closely involved in helping Kume write up the *Kairan Jikki*.

Examination of the journal that Kume wrote during his travels in Britain reveals that he was most concerned with fulfilling his duty to record the details of Iwakura's daily visits. A now well-established *tansaku* tradition is evident in

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a. 「英国志」

the care he took to catalogue and measure details of the institutions and the technology he observed. These descriptive accounts, however, do not contain the weight of analysis that featured in the final *Kairan Jikki*. This was more the result of the editing stage which was itself the product of consultation with Hatakeyama and other members of the party.<sup>11</sup>

The Iwakura embassy spent four months in Britain during the summer and autumn of 1872, and in addition to London, travelled through Liverpool, Manchester, Glasgow, the Peak District and the Highlands of Scotland. In Kume's journal there are descriptions of a whole range of different factories, with accounts of breweries, spinning factories and steel mills in the industrial heartland of Britain. He was thus ideally placed to observe the manufacturing power of the Victorian age, for the party was constantly fêted by Victorian businessmen keen to parade their wares. This unprecedented opportunity allowed Kume to present in the *Kairan Jikki* the first graphic and comprehensive portrait of the industry of Britain.

In the volume on Britain, Kume first presented general introductions of location and population, geography and climate, agricultural and manufactured produce, trade, and the racial make-up of the British, their customs, schools and religion. This recalls the approach of various geographical works, and also *Seiyō Bunken Roku*. Some passages even read like polished versions of Nomura's descriptions which would have been familiar to a number of those in the Iwakura embassy. Kume then presented a chronological record of the embassy's travels drawn largely from his own journal in Britain. This he interspersed with essays on general themes such as political structure and descriptions of individual towns and cities. In Haga Tōru's view, the style used in the presentation of cities like London was an original feature of Kume's, starting with a macroscopic overview before focusing on details. These components, however, were all present in existing works like *Seiyō Bunken Roku*.<sup>12</sup> Unlike previous scholars of western studies who deliberately simplified their sentence structure, however, Kume employed a literary written style, consciously addressing the learned men of old Tokugawa Japan. Mayo has pointed out that 'certainly he could speak to the conservatives on their terms while dazzling them with his impressive command of Chinese characters'.<sup>13</sup>

There were discernible British voices in the text with popular sayings presented at key moments. As Mayo notes, 'his account abounds in clichés and stereotypes, but that is one of its fascinations; for the source was often Western, and clichés can shape a cultural response as surely as the most perceptive observations'.<sup>14</sup> Kume was by no means advanced in his studies of English, however, and many of these would have been heard second-hand in translation from other Japanese abroad. As such, his record lacked the immediacy of the interviews presented by Nomura. His tendency to provide a lesson for the reader at the end of each essay also detracted from his objectivity because he was working within the constraints of his official position, and the views expressed often reflected those of Meiji leaders.

While Kume's general descriptions of landscape and climate read like polished versions of sections in *Seiyō Bunken Roku*, his chronological entries included vivid passages on the scenery and weather such as those recorded on visits to Chatsworth House and the Trossachs. Mayo suggests that Henry Buckle's then current ideas on the influence of climate can be discerned, but there was already a long-standing tradition in Japanese geographical works of relating climate to behaviour. Apart from noting the impact of sea currents, Kume's explanation of Britain's warm climate in relation to latitude could have been derived directly from Nomura's account.

Kume bemoaned the fact that there were only three days of sunlight during his month in London. He pointed out how dry the air was in comparison to the humidity in Japan, and was surprised that washing could be dried indoors on rainy days and metal objects did not easily rust. Like Nomura, he noticed the heavy reliance on coal but stressed more emphatically its impact on the Victorian weather, and that fog contained coal dust which blackened the stonework in London and other cities. It was a climate blighted by coal that Kume described when he declared that the weather brightened up and the walls of buildings shone white simply by crossing the narrow channel to France.<sup>15</sup>

Summing up the impact of climate on agriculture, he observed that the Japanese harvest had enough light but was too wet, while the harvest in Britain was dry enough but without enough sunlight. A visit to the Agricultural Hall in London

prompted thoughts that Britain could provide a better model than America in the field of applying science to agriculture 'because Britain, like Japan, had only a limited area of cultivated land'.<sup>16</sup>

Kume repeatedly referred to the importance of Victorian industry, and steel and coal in particular, citing the British saying that 'people in Northumberland live on coal, while the Welsh live on steel'. He recalled how the 'thriving steel manufacture astounded our party' and cited relevant statistics, by now a natural trait of any writer pursuing *tansaku* research overseas. He noted that 'all this steel is used to build ships and lay railway tracks, and many of the railways all over the world are built by British companies'.<sup>17</sup> Implicit in this observation was the understanding that, as a major manufacturing power, Britain actively sought access to worldwide markets, in the Empire and beyond.

Kume thought that geographical location had encouraged the growth of trade in Britain and, like Nomura, wrote of the natural poverty of the land as a motivating force in developing commerce. The traditional skill in shipbuilding, however, could be traced to the Vikings. Developing a theme mentioned in *Eikoku Tansaku*, he wrote that the British used their steel and coal to build and drive machines to produce manufactured goods, but the raw materials came from overseas; cotton from America, linen from India and sugar from the West Indies. In his view, 'this is the only country that specialises in profiting from natural products'. Detailed figures presented Britain's trade balance, and he introduced the idea of mutual dependency, citing the Dutchman who had told the British they would starve but for cattle from Holland, only to be told that he could only survive because of the income they gave him.<sup>18</sup>

In Kume's view, the colonies had greatly benefited Britain as a source of raw materials, and quoted an American who likened the British takeover in India to the squeezing of a lemon. He thought that the Victorians' comparatively civilized attitude also contributed to their success in the colonies, commenting on the voyage home that, 'as I observed Europeans aboard our ship, I saw that the English treated foreigners with kindness while the Spanish, Dutch and Portuguese in general were still arrogant'. The portrait of the xenophobic British character found in Watanabe's Dutch source materials had disappeared.

On a theme also mentioned by Nomura, he commented that 'in fact the Western travelers one meets on ship in Asian waters tend to be characterized by rude behaviour, insulting speech, boisterous laughter, and angry outbursts. In Europe, such behaviour would be considered vulgar and shameful'.<sup>19</sup>

Kume presented a historical background as a prologue to expounding on national character, and differentiated between the British and Americans, although originally of the same stock. French goods he found attractive and sold for less than half the price, but British goods were durable and would always sell, even if their prices were still higher. His presentation on British custom was an essay on the role of poverty as a stimulus to hard endeavour. Mayo paraphrases his opening lines as genuine praise; 'in England, he said, although he knew better, everyone - high and low, noble or commoner - enjoyed peace and a happy life. Why was this so? Ease and comfort are the fruit of hard work'.<sup>20</sup>

Kume, however, was actually presenting this popular misconception of blissful Victorian prosperity so as to destroy it with a scathing attack on the poverty he had seen. He described how, in comparison to the Spanish who indulged in siestas, the workers' feet never touched the ground, and how couples went through their weekly accounts on Saturday evenings, while streets were a battleground of beggars with prostitutes and pickpockets struggling to survive. The reason why so many people emigrated was because they found life insupportable in Britain, the result he suggested of concentrating land ownership in so few hands. He claimed that there were only 20,000 property owners left in the country as a whole, and these were decreasing by the year. He thus identified a driving force behind emigration that Nomura had failed to convey. A historian after all, he was aware of the dynamics of social change, and sensed that Britain's agrarian and industrial revolutions had exacerbated social instability in the growing cities.<sup>21</sup>

Like Nomura, Kume found the world of social manners puzzling, and Mayo notes that 'the topics of western deference to women - and children - and seeming indifference to the aged dominated many a dinner conversation'.<sup>22</sup> Kume did not hide his distaste for the men's obsequious attitude to their womenfolk, and had previously reminded the reader that, 'in the teaching of the East, women

governed inside and the men outside. A learned man, he cautioned, should think carefully about such matters'.<sup>23</sup> He described the etiquette involved in consuming alcohol and tobacco, but was less intrigued by such customs as concerned for the behaviour of people in Japan. He insisted that, in the West, 'in spite of the increase in consumption, the tendency is to practice moderation in public and indulge only in private. On the whole people manage in this way to restrain their desires. In the East, men boast of their drinking prowess, and the women use tobacco as an aphrodisiac'.<sup>24</sup> Here he was writing in the creative manner of Honda, Voltaire or Swift, shaming his countrymen through unflattering comparisons with societies abroad. Unlike Honda, Kume had actually observed the people he described, but his high moral tone reflected official concerns over social behaviour in Japan, an agenda that served to impair *Kairan Jikki*'s critical objectivity of customs in the West.

Kume's section on schools in Britain, although lacking in detail and confined largely to a theoretical historical background, included an interesting comparison. He suggested that, in the past, 'not only did the peasants not want to learn, but it was also prohibited by law, just as in Japan until recently'. He pointed out that common people used words derived from Saxon, and not French languages just as, in Japan, difficult Chinese words were less understood outside the educated élite. Like Nomura, he introduced Sunday School, and also charity school, and reported that in 1870, there were 10,949 schools with 1,949,000 students attending so that, 'in recent years, literature has made great progress'.<sup>25</sup>

*Kairan Jikki* paid considerable attention to religion, again in contrast to *Seiyō Jijō*. Like *Seiyō Bunken Roku*, this introduced religious denominations, including regional features such as the predominance of Presbyterians in Scotland and Catholics in Ireland. Although he included less detail than Nomura on the impact of religion on social attitudes, he captured the importance of religion to the Victorian establishment, declaring that society was affected by the degree of faith among the population, a subject that 'British politicians take most seriously'. He noted the prevalence of churchgoing on Sundays, regardless of social class, and recorded, perhaps from personal experience, that hotel guests in Scotland were scolded if they did not attend.<sup>26</sup>

Kume's presentation of Parliament followed existing works in form. As in both *Seiyō Jijō* and *Seiyō Bunken Roku*, he described both houses and each government ministry. In spite of the emphasis he had laid on religion, his interpretation of the freedom and rights the British prized in their constitution was entirely materialistic, commenting that while moral suasion was the core in the Orient, British legislation was founded on the desire to protect property. In his view, the electoral system had been moulded through the ages by a constant emphasis on trade and the needs of commercial companies.<sup>27</sup> Although he did not overtly present a Confucian contempt for profit, this perspective certainly reflects his Chinese training. It was comparable to the thought of Kuo Sung-t'ao, the first Chinese resident minister overseas who declared during his voyage to Britain in 1876 that, 'in Europe, commerce is the root of government'.<sup>28</sup> An advocate of modernisation, Kuo was thought too pro-western by Ch'ing bureaucrats. In the 1870s, therefore, there was sometimes common ground to be found between the overseas experience of a classical scholar from Japan and that of a radical thinker from China.

As in previous works, the treatment of the distribution of power in *Kairan Jikki* reflected the writer's own political affiliation. Kume came from a *monbatsu* background in the inner circle of influence in the Hizen *han*, and was writing on behalf of a government more concerned with authority than popular representation. He presented a monarch with more authority than that described by Nomura, recalling how, during his stay in London, Victoria had refused Gladstone's request to resign.<sup>29</sup> He portrayed a powerful aristocracy who, having wrested authority from King John, exercised their will over and above the common people. In any great venture, therefore, it was the financial resources of the aristocracy that really mattered, and the Lords exercised their veto whenever their interests were threatened. There was no hint in Kume's presentation of the Lords bowing to the weight of opinion in the Commons. Aware though he was of calls to abolish the upper house, he had been told by General Sir James Alexander, the party's official guide that 'the shock to the constitution would outweigh any benefit derived from abolishing the Lords'.<sup>30</sup>

In Kume's view, the nobility were thus largely impervious to the will of the House of Commons whose sole prerogative was to table taxation and expenditure.

He referred to the aristocracy as *monbatsu*, the upper echelons of the *samurai* class with which he identified himself, and was quick to notice evidence of their power at work in Britain, commenting that 'the great progress made in agriculture in recent years is again due to the endeavour of the aristocracy'.<sup>31</sup> In Mayo's view, 'what Kume had acquired and passed on with approval was the current liberal interpretation of English constitutional history, which downplayed upheaval and conflict as a means to progress'.<sup>32</sup> This may have been so, but his interpretation was actually less liberal in outlook than *Seiyō Jijō*, *Seiyō Bunken Roku* and even *Eikoku Tansaku* which was an official report of a bygone feudal age. In Kume's eyes, as Mayo points out, 'the blind spot of them all (western constitutions) was the principle of sharing legislative power with a representative assembly'.<sup>33</sup> It was Kume's conservatism that was most apparent, and the increasing numbers of Japanese readers in favour of constitutional reform in the late 1870s would have found little comfort in his analysis.

Kume presented the two-party system with clarity and described Britain's progress as the result of a symbiotic relationship between the Whig and Tory parties in which 'liberal governments take steps forward, while conservative governments polish and refine their reform'.<sup>34</sup> Like Nomura, he was impressed by how politically aware all sectors of the population were, while noting that politicians in the Commons often hailed from wealthy families. In contrast to the claims made by *Eikoku Tansaku* a decade earlier that public elections allowed natural talent to surface, he stressed that 'the people who get there are not all brilliant, with only ten or so figures of real authority'. He observed how 'the others just listen, raise their hands, or thunder approval when it is time for a raise of hands'.<sup>35</sup> In a graphic description of the Commons, he described how 'some members sit quietly; others whisper, write notes or study documents. There are even some who draw pictures'.<sup>36</sup>

*Kairan Jikki* paid less attention to the armed forces than any of the other works examined; trade and industry rather than military confrontation was the agenda for the Iwakura embassy. Kume's comments were largely derived from existing works; he noticed the relative weakness of the British army and, like Fukuzawa, mentioned that Britain had a smaller army relative to the population than any other European country. He added, however, that the British took pride in this



statistic as evidence of how settled and content their people were.<sup>37</sup>

Kume was not, by training, a typical *tansaku* researcher, and his study of Victorian Britain betrayed his Confucian training throughout. Faced with the task of compiling the journal of the Iwakura embassy, he drew upon the accumulated scholarship of a now established tradition of research and the knowledge of students returning from overseas. These sources influenced the layout and approach of his work and, overlaid by the official concerns of the Meiji government, created the unique blend that resulted in *Kairan Jikki*.

On its publication, *Kairan Jikki* did not give real impetus to any subsequent generation of research on the subject of Britain. It was rather more the culmination of diverse studies conducted during the first years of Japanese overseas travel in the 1860s, polishing many ideas already in circulation, and finished off with the refined literary style of a Chinese scholar. As a result, with the weight of government support and the experience of the Iwakura embassy behind it, Kume's study represented an almost insuperable scholarly achievement. This was one reason why, following on the less sophisticated earlier efforts of writers such as Fukuzawa and Nomura, it became the last major attempt in early Meiji Japan to compile an all-encompassing analysis of western civilization. It was published at a time when the numbers of Japanese studying overseas were decreasing, and those conducting research abroad were often highly qualified in their own specialist fields. With existing general *tansaku* works to draw upon, scholarship relating to direct observations of conditions in the West became increasingly narrowly confined to specific academic disciplines taught in European and American universities.

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In his study of the first Chinese embassy to Europe, J.D. Frodsham pointed out that 'to learn something of what the Chinese thought of the West when they first encountered it, is to go a long way towards understanding how China looks at the West today'.<sup>1</sup> This observation may be extended to describe the Japanese discovery of the West during the early years of overseas travel. In this chapter, I have traced the development of Japanese research on one European country

within this wider process. Notwithstanding the impact of subsequent historical developments, at the core of contemporary Japanese perspectives of Britain there remain features which can be traced to the circumstances and initial development of *tansaku* research during the late Edo period, and to the impetus these enquiries drew from the first opportunities to observe Victorian society at first hand.

By the time *bakufu* missions and students ventured overseas in the 1860s, there was already a considerable amount of research material in Japanese, Chinese and Dutch which could be used in preparing overseas research. An interest in Britain, however, had not been much in evidence until the late eighteenth century, and was minimal in comparison to Japanese knowledge of Holland and Russia. Nevertheless, the expansion of British activities in East Asia during the early nineteenth century gave rise to an increased awareness of the need for *tansaku* investigations as a whole. Whether motivated by a desire for economic reform in Japan like Honda or driven by fear of invasion like Ōtsuki, such research drew upon an increased availability of geographical works. As a result, by the 1830s, writers like Takano and Watanabe could attempt to balance the apparent conflicts between aggression and talent they saw presented in existing studies to compile a comparatively informed and textured perspective of Britain's activities as a trading and seafaring power.

By the 1850s, the volume of geographical and historical information had greatly increased, and a distinct *tansaku* research style had emerged. This influenced the study method of most overseas travellers, including even a Confucian scholar like Kume. It was certainly evident in the early *tansaku* investigations undertaken during the *bakufu* missions of the early 1860s. The resulting *Eikoku Tansaku* was a remarkable achievement given the limited amount of time available, and the condensed information that the *tansaku* research team systematically collected in Europe provided Fukuzawa with the necessary experience to compile a succinct introductory work to the west in *Seiyō Jijō*. In this he often focused on Victorian Britain as a symbol of his aspirations for development in Japan, presenting a substantial amount of material that far surpassed existing reference works in Japan.

The depth of experience of the official *tansaku* researchers on this *bakufu* mission, however, paled in comparison with that of overseas students who, from the mid-1860s onwards, had the time and opportunity to form a more balanced perspective. In addition to observing the capabilities of the technology and structures introduced by Fukuzawa, they also experienced their impact on everyday life. Besides the colonial power and industrial prowess that made Britain such a compelling subject of research, they became aware of social problems in the growing cities, cultural backgrounds and moral sensibilities. Such features were first presented to Japanese readers in detail in works like Nomura's *Seiyō Bunken Roku* in the early Meiji years which collectively achieved in depth of knowledge and experience a multi-layered perspective of the Victorian world. It was at this stage in the Japanese discovery of Britain that Kume was embarking on his official account of the Iwakura embassy. In his *Kairan Jikki*, there was evidence of three distinct phases of research; *sakoku* period works, *tansaku* studies of the *bakufu* missions, and the diverse recent experiences of students overseas. Kume added the official concerns of Meiji leaders to his synthesis of existing materials to create an impressive if authoritarian presentation of the advances made in Japanese investigations in the early years of overseas travel.

### Chapter Three: Japanese Diaries and the Victorian World on the Voyage to Europe

No historical records reveal the psychology of the Japanese cultural discovery of the Victorian world more vividly than travel diaries. While the published works of scholars like Fukuzawa, Nomura and Kume contained the studied conclusions of their overseas *tansaku* investigations, they were produced in their final form after their arrival back in Japan, sometimes years after the original research. A clearer appreciation of what was in the minds of Japanese travellers as they encountered cultures overseas can be drawn from the diary accounts that many of them kept, especially in the 1860s.

Most of the immediate impressions of Victorian society to be found in these diaries were not written in Britain at all, but recorded during the long voyage across the seas of Asia on the way to Europe. This is not unnatural considering that, by the time they finally arrived in Britain or France, Japanese travellers had often become familiarised enough with their new surroundings to dispense with general descriptions of the culture around them, and restricted their diary entries to brief comments on specific events or people they met. Following their departure from Japan, they would already have encountered aspects of European life on board passenger or merchant ships, and in ports of call on the way like Hong Kong, Singapore, Galle, Aden and Malta. It was in these far-flung ports of the British Empire that their experience of the Victorian world began in earnest, and here that their most vivid impressions were recorded.

We can examine the Japanese introduction to British society during the course of such voyages through a comparison of diaries kept by travellers during the 1860s. It should be noted that, whereas numerous diaries were compiled during this first decade of overseas travel, there were surprisingly few written or preserved thereafter, in spite of the increasing numbers of Japanese overseas. This suggests a gradually diminishing sense of novelty in the process of overseas travel, and indicates how much information on the civilizations of Europe and America was already available to the Japanese reading public as a result of the first wave of overseas *tansaku* investigations.

Between them these diaries provide a unique record of cultural interaction. They

display a range of styles, some of them quite inaccessible unless viewed within the context of the long-standing Japanese tradition of the literary diary. They reveal central elements in these travellers' overseas experience, describing their departure, their awakening to other Asian cultures at ports of call, and their first-hand discovery of the British Empire. They record the impact made by Victorian technology, for it was during their voyages that they encountered the trains, telegraph lines and military installations that were transforming European colonies in Asia. These records also trace the Japanese introduction to Victorian society and customs, for it was during these voyages that travellers first found themselves in the midst of a culture markedly different from their own. While they were observing Victorians around them, they were also under pressure to adapt themselves, especially if they were to spend any length of time in Europe, and it was this process of adaptation that was to leave some of the most indelible images of their overseas experience.

#### Overseas travellers and the Japanese diary tradition

Diaries written by Japanese travellers in the 1860s cannot be approached in quite the same way as, for example, the diaries of Victorians overseas. The diary record in Japan has a unique cultural tradition quite distinct from anything in the West, characterised by a close relationship with poetry and a perception of the diary form as a literary genre. This tradition influenced the presentation of many of these travellers' journals. In some cases, it was also blended with concerns for descriptive accuracy arising from the more recent tradition of *tansaku* research, and resulted in an entirely new style of written document.

In Japan, diaries have been kept for over one thousand years and are often viewed in primarily literary terms. All students of Japanese literature must familiarise themselves with the famous poetic diaries kept by ladies in Heian Kyōto or the journals of Matsuo Bashō, the seventeenth-century master of *haiku* poetry.<sup>a</sup> In the view of Donald Keene, 'only in Japan did the diary acquire the status of a literary genre comparable in importance to novels, essays, and other branches of literature that elsewhere are esteemed more highly than diaries'.<sup>1</sup>

The term *nikki* ('daily record' or 'diary') implies certain features unique to

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a. 松尾芭蕉、俳句

this tradition.<sup>a</sup> The format need not necessarily be time-specific. Reminiscences can be described as a *nikki* even if they are not a record of days, or a diary as we know it. As in the works of Bashō, short poems may be found at regular intervals to the extent that the journal itself can appear to be no more than a vehicle for the presentation of verse. It has been suggested that the diary has been employed in the service of literature because it provides a ready-made structure, 'the passage of days', and overcomes inherent linguistic difficulties in creating Japanese poetry of any great length.<sup>2</sup> To the Japanese, the term *nikki* certainly implies a degree of literary achievement not considered essential to an English 'diary'. The act of giving a journal the title of *nikki* (as many travellers did), therefore, often implied an awareness of the content as a literary work.

Poetry features strongly in nineteenth-century Japanese diaries, as evidenced by the recent publication of an anthology of poetry by overseas travellers, many examples of which are taken from their diaries.<sup>3</sup> The inclusion of such verse does not render these journals historically less significant, as the literary awareness of these travellers was central to the overseas experience they recorded. Ki no Tsurayuki, author of the famous *Tosa Nikki* [*Tosa Diary*],<sup>b</sup> identified poetry as a spontaneous reaction when he wrote: 'I do not set down these words, nor do I compose the poem, out of a mere love of writing. Surely both in China and Japan art is that which is created when we are unable to suppress our feelings'.<sup>4</sup> In addition to being a natural response, verse was often consciously employed as a social skill, essential to daily etiquette in educated circles. Citing the frequent exchanges of verse that shaped the courtship scenes in *Izumi Shikibu Nikki* [*Diary of Izumi Shikibu*],<sup>c</sup> Miner notes that it was more natural, 'much more true to life — to include poems in a diary than it ever would have been in the West'.<sup>5</sup>

Although Bashō wrote his verse in *haiku* form in the seventeenth century, almost all the poetry to be found in the diaries of early overseas travellers two centuries later was, with the exception of a handful of indigenous *waka*, composed in the form of *kanshi*, or Chinese verse.<sup>d</sup> This reflects the Confucian education of men in the late Tokugawa period. Chinese influence on the Japanese diary, however, forms part of a much older and continuous heritage. The first

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a. 日記

b. 紀實之著「土佐日記」

c. 「和泉式部日記」

d. 和歌、漢詩

ever Japanese diaries had been recorded in Chinese very much in the daily-entry form of modern natural diaries and Tsurayuki had kept to this format in the tenth century when he wrote his *Tosa Nikki*. Bashō noticed that elements of these early diaries survived into early modern times and 'wrote of a continuing tradition from Tsurayuki to his own time, a tradition he designated as 'diaries of the road' (*michi no nikki*)'.<sup>6</sup>

In the mid-thirteenth century, the *kikō* ('travel diary' or 'travel record')<sup>a</sup> emerged as a subgenre of the *nikki* and went on to eclipse the *nikki* itself, especially under Tokugawa rule as internal peace and the development of the road network increased the opportunities for travel. Such works commonly followed a natural chronology with titles ending in *-ki* or *-roku* (record).<sup>b</sup> During the Edo period, diaries were often written in Chinese, and Confucian scholars would pride themselves on the excellence of their literary style. The *Travels of Gentlemen Emissaries* written in 1706, for example, describes the activities of two travellers on the road between Edo and Kōfu, occasionally stopping to admire the scenery and writing verse in Chinese. Their records were written on a day-to-day basis but polished later on. It was the cultural tradition embodied in this and other renowned *kikō* works of the Edo period that travellers of the nineteenth century could draw upon when recording their own journeys overseas.

One feature of such *kikō* was the use of *utamakura*,<sup>c</sup> the observation of particular places first described by previous diarists. This came to be so engrained a stylistic convention that doubts have been cast on the Japanese ability to describe any landscape without immediate recourse to existing literature on the subject. Though unpersuaded, Keene admits that 'it is easy to assent to such a theory when one reads the long series of diaries describing travels along the *Tōkaidō*, each relating the author's impressions on visiting the same spots as his predecessors'.<sup>7</sup> Kawabata Yasunari summed up this derivative tradition with the comment that 'it is part of the discipline of the different arts of Japan, as well as a guidepost to the spirit, for a man to make his way in the footsteps of his predecessors, journeying a hundred times to the famous places and old sites, but not to waste time traipsing over unknown mountains and rivers'.<sup>8</sup>

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a. 紀行

b. 記、録

c. 歌枕

One immediate difficulty facing diarists recording their travels overseas was that they had no conventional *utamakura* to refer to. Deprived of literary devices used within the country, many searched for hints of familiarity elsewhere. Early Japanese visitors to Ceylon, for example, often drew upon an even more ancient tradition by mistakenly identifying a nearby mountain as *Ryōjuzen*,<sup>a</sup> the famous hill they knew from Buddhist sutras. In the absence of accounts by previous Japanese travellers, diarists often referred to translations of Dutch geographical texts. Literary conventions also contributed to shaping the style of their travel writing. Few visitors to Shanghai, for example, failed to describe the multitude of shipmasts in the harbour with the characters for 'standing like trees in a wood' (*rinritsu*).<sup>b</sup> A number of diarists travelling on a steam train for the first time would compare its speed to that of an arrow or the wind.

In contrast to this diary tradition of accumulated experience, some early overseas travellers consciously recorded the unique nature of their journey overseas. These were men with a sense of historical mission who saw themselves as pioneers of knowledge glimpsing a previously hidden world, and who tried to communicate their experience to an audience unable to see it for themselves. Such writers were wont to adopt dramatic devices by casting the traveller in the role of intrepid hero. Just as Bashō had intimated that he was half-expecting to die at the outset of *Oku e no Hosomichi* [*Narrow Road to the Deep North*],<sup>c</sup> these writers would describe themselves venturing out into a dangerous unknown world, overcoming impossible odds and traversing unbelievable distances. Dramatic affectations these may have been, but they would strike a chord of recognition among the readers that such diarists may have sought to address.

The single most significant development in the approach to diary writing in the early years of overseas travel was the emergence of *tansaku* scholarship. Increasingly, overseas travellers would be familiar with geographical texts in Japanese, Chinese or Dutch. Some *yōgakusha*, in particular, were more versed in such texts than other travellers, and used them as a platform for their own systematic analysis of western civilization. The increasingly widespread pursuit of western studies required numerical literacy, and led aspiring *tansaku* scholars to embellish their accounts with lengthy series of figures. When

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a. 靈鷲山

b. 林立

c. 「奥への細道」



recording their observations, they attached great importance to detailed eye-witness accounts. As a result, their diaries showed a greater concern for descriptive accuracy than literary art, and were often formidably packed with statistics.

According to Keene, Kawaji Toshiakira's *Nagasaki Nikki* [*Nagasaki Diary*]<sup>a</sup> of 1853 was the first Japanese diary to include the daily temperature in Fahrenheit.<sup>9</sup> During the 1860s, not only temperature but latitude, longitude and distance between successive ports of call became part of the overseas traveller's daily vocabulary. Figures were also used descriptively so that readers could quantify the dimensions and structure of objects they observed. During his visit to London in 1862, for example, Mashizu Shunjiro<sup>b</sup> noted that the Thames Tunnel was 120 ft. long, 24 ft. wide and one foot high [*sic*], and had been constructed five *jō*<sup>c</sup> underground. He added that entrance was subject to a one pence admission charge and 56 stalls could be found inside.<sup>10</sup> In 1867, Hanabusa Yoshimoto<sup>d</sup> not only drew floor plans of both Houses of Commons and recorded that 500 members of Parliament came from England, 105 from Ireland and 53 from Scotland, but also felt compelled to point out that the complex featured 'approximately 16 *ri*<sup>e</sup> of iron piping filled with steam to heat the rooms, with £1,500 spent on gas every day'.<sup>11</sup>

Whether literary or concerned with *tansaku* research, these diaries do not always reveal the writer's innermost thoughts, for in reality there exists a whole spectrum of motives that may compel an individual to write a daily record, and distinctions have to be made between those written with an audience in mind and those for private reference. Furthermore, as personal records, they reflect the concerns of individual writers. Miner, for example, notes that the reader can learn little from Tsurayuki on politics, from Izumi Shikibu on social structure or from Bashō on the rise of the commercial classes in Tokugawa Japan. Perhaps the greatest limitation of early overseas travellers' journals lies in the range of authorship. There are no women among these diarists, and hardly any of them hail from families outside the *bushi* social class.<sup>f</sup> The travels they record, therefore, collectively describe the experiences of educated Japanese men.

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a. 川路聖謨著「長崎日記」

b. 益頭駿次郎

c. 丈 ( 1 *jō* = approx. 10ft )

d. 花房義質

e. 里 ( 1 *ri* = 3.927m or 36 *chō* )

f. 武士

Notwithstanding such limitations, the value of diaries is that, as Keene has observed, 'perhaps more than any other form, they communicate how Japanese have thought and felt'.<sup>12</sup> Diaries from the 1860s command particular interest in that they include some of the first recorded Japanese overseas experiences in modern times. This new departure in cultural interaction was central to what Keene calls 'the most important event of modern Japanese history', 'the opening of the country to the West'. In evaluating Sakuma Shōzan's *Uraga Nikki [Uraga Diary]*,<sup>a</sup> he claims that 'one would have to search long before coming across anything as humanly affecting as the moment when an American sailor took the first photograph of a Japanese'.<sup>13</sup> The diaries written by the first travellers to venture overseas, however, are, by their very nature, rich in such poignant cultural encounters.

The diary written by Chang Te-yi, a Chinese traveller, provides an interesting comparison. Chang visited Britain in 1866 with the Pin Ch'un mission and, according to Frodsham, had an 'almost Pepysian' concern for details of everyday life he saw overseas, 'which makes his work of absorbing interest to the social historian'. Frodsham attributes the 'naivety and freshness' of Chang's writing to his youth, particularly in his vivid accounts of gas-lights, lifts, water-closets and hot-and-cold plumbing systems during his voyage.<sup>14</sup> As we shall see, these trappings of modern European lifestyle were considered so novel that they also fascinated Japanese diarists in the 1860s, and even those of quite advanced years. Hotel rooms in ports of call like Hong Kong could sometimes be reconstructed in some detail simply on the strength of descriptions in their journals.

Another feature of these diaries that lends them historical significance is the fact that the Japanese themselves have considered them documents of great importance. Even in the age in which they were written, public interest was high. Ichikawa Wataru and Takashima Sukehiro, both members of the 1862 Takenouchi mission to Europe, published their diaries after their return to Japan. Ichikawa's *Biyō Ōkō Manroku*<sup>b</sup> appeared in print in 1863, and was soon partially translated into English by Ernest Satow under the title of *A Confused Account of a Trip to Europe, Like a Fly on a Horse's Tail*. Takashima's *Ōsei Kikō [Journal of a Trip to Western Europe]*<sup>c</sup> was painstakingly reworked and published in 1867.

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a. 「補償日記」

b. 「尾端政行漫録」

c. 高島裕敬著「欧西紀行」

This contained some features of *tansaku* research, with short essays interspersed within the narrative text together with numerous colour illustrations which call to mind the style later adopted by Kume Kunitake in his more well-known *Kairan Jikki*. First published in 1868, Nakai Hiroshi's *Seiyō Kikō [Journal of a Trip in the West]*<sup>a</sup> was a much less polished work, for he had arrived back from Britain just months before. It was recirculated in 1870 under the title of *Kōkai Shinsetsu [A New Interpretation of Navigation]*.<sup>b</sup> During the early Meiji years, diaries regularly appeared in print culminating in a spate of new editions in the early 1880s. This century too, the publication of extensive collections such as *Bakufu Kengai Shisetsu Nikki Sanshū [Collection of Diaries from Bakufu Overseas Missions]*,<sup>c</sup> and the ongoing efforts to trace and transliterate other less well-known works, have underscored the continuing importance attributed to these diaries as historical source materials.

#### The voyage to Europe and the British Empire

The voyages described in the diaries of early overseas travellers took between two and three months, and gave them their first glimpse of European influence in Asia at ports of call on the way, many of which were British colonies. More than twenty years after the Opium War, at a time when many Japanese harboured fears for their own sovereignty following the opening of the treaty ports, these diaries convey how travellers reacted on observing the extent of British colonial influence in China and India. Their first-hand experience of Britain thus began not with their arrival in Europe, but in ports of call in Asia, or on P & O ships which catered for predominantly European passenger loads. As one Japanese diarist observed in 1866, for example, 'it would be no mistake to think of Hong Kong as first and foremost a part of Europe'.<sup>1</sup>

Some surviving diaries are noteworthy, either for their originality and detail, or because of the particular circumstances they describe. Of the 36 travellers who took part in the *bakufu* mission to Europe in 1862, eight are known to have kept diaries, of which six have survived.<sup>2</sup> Among these, Ichikawa Wataru's diary is so rich in detail that it has long attracted interest. Fuchinabe Tokuzō's journal, meanwhile, is an example of a poetic diary permeated throughout with traditional literary features.<sup>d</sup> Other poetic diaries include those by Shibata

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- a. 中井弘著「西洋紀行」
  - b. 「航海新説」
  - c. 「幕府遣外使節日記寫真」
  - d. 淵辺徳蔵

Takenaka, head of the *bakufu* delegation to Europe in 1865, and by Matsumura Junzō, one of the Satsuma party that illegally escaped to Britain in the same year.<sup>a</sup>

Diaries like the one written by Okada Setsuzō who accompanied Shibata's party show the characteristics of a *yōgaku* scholar attempting to compile a *tansaku* investigation in diary form. Several diaries also give indications of changing domestic circumstances at the start of the passport age from mid-1866 onwards. These include journals written by Kawaji Tarō, director of the *bakufu* students in Britain, and Nakai Hiroshi of Satsuma. Both men realised the need for rapid technological change, but while Kawaji felt anguish at what he perceived to be the inadequacy of *bakufu* reform, Nakai was optimistically anticipating a transformation of Japanese society. The last of the selection presented here is the diary of Ozaki Saburō who left for Britain in the first months of the Meiji era in April 1868, and reveals the hopes of a young man at the dawn of a new age.<sup>b</sup>

i) departure and the constraints of sea travel

Records of these voyages to Europe often begin with final preparations and the moment of departure. As they packed their bags, travellers appear to have been preoccupied with thoughts of potential dangers overseas, together with notions perhaps of pride at being presented with this rare opportunity of seeing the world outside, and also a sense of mission on behalf of their own *han* or the *bakufu*. The prospect of travelling such unimaginable distances prompted the fear of never coming back, a concern understandable among those sent overseas as students. Both the 1865 Satsuma party and the party of *bakufu* students that departed for Britain in 1866 left Japan thinking, wrongly as it turned out, that they would be away for at least five years. Their sense of mission was acute, and some left wives and children behind for the sake of study abroad.

Particularly before the ban on overseas travel was lifted, the opportunity of overseas travel represented a great honour bestowed upon a privileged few. Many of those who wished to join the first *bakufu* mission's journey to Europe in 1862 were disappointed by Alcock's recommendation to reduce the size of the party.

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a. 松村淳蔵

b. 尾崎三良

Some of them were allowed to accompany a *bakufu* party to Shanghai a few months later instead. Not all those selected to travel overseas, however, felt themselves to be blessed with good fortune. In 1865, for example, Hatakeyama Yoshinari, Takahashi Kaname and Shimazu Orinosuke refused orders to join the Satsuma expedition to Britain.<sup>a</sup> As supporters of the xenophobic *jōi* movement, they felt insulted by the prospect of treading foreign soil. Hatakeyama was eventually persuaded to change his mind by Shimazu Hisamitsu,<sup>b</sup> but the other two steadfastly declined to leave Japan.<sup>1</sup>

By the late 1860s, the necessity of overseas research was increasingly being recognised at all levels of the *bushi* social class, and soon young aristocrats were even being sent abroad to study. One of the first of these was Sanjō Kimiyasu, son of Sanjō Sanetomi, who left for Britain in early 1868 at the age of sixteen.<sup>c</sup> One of his travelling companions, the twenty-year-old Ozaki Saburō was warned that as Sanjō was 'yet weak with the smell of mother's milk still fresh on his face', he was surely too young to risk the dangers of overseas travel. Full of the bravado of youth, Ozaki replied that 'extraordinary times like these require extraordinary measures'.<sup>2</sup>

No Japanese exemplified this keen sense of mission more than the *mikkōsha*, the travellers who risked death to escape overseas. A graphic account of such an escape was recorded in the diary of Nomura Fumio who, together with Ishimaru Toragorō and Mawatari Hachirō, stole away from Nagasaki in 1865 aboard the *Chanticleer*, a 130 ft sailing ship laden with tea and Imari ware. As Nagasaki was full of *bakufu* officials, they took numerous precautions to avoid detection. Their final rendezvous before boarding was at ten o'clock at night at the premises of a certain 'Kiku' in the pleasure quarters of Maruyama. They then made their way under cover of darkness to meet the Scottish merchant Thomas Glover who showed them to the ship where they hid below decks in a small cabin which Nomura described as 'quite cramped but at least it can be called safe'. When bad weather prevented the ship's departure the following day, the three travellers 'hid in this tiny cabin, frightened to death of being discovered'. A crowd gathered on shore when the *Chanticleer* was at last ready to raise anchor the following evening, and Nomura wrote of how, 'fearing detection we hid ourselves away in the tiny cabin, and silently peeped out through a crack at

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a. 畠山義成、高橋要、島津織之介

b. 島津久光

c. 三条公基、三条実美

the activity on the quay'. When Nagasaki was finally out of sight, he emerged from the cabin, and 'felt the same joy that a bird must feel when freed from its cage'.<sup>3</sup>

At the moment of departure, those with a literary background were perhaps naturally moved to describe the event in poetry. Although stylised and intended for some audience, the resulting verses captured the heightened state of emotion of the traveller at the outset of a long journey. Sugi Tokusuke,<sup>a</sup> a member of the 1862 *bakufu* mission to Europe, wrote of his sadness in Chinese verse:

'Why do parting words fail to wipe away my tears of farewell  
and convince me those far-off shores are really close at hand?'<sup>4</sup>

In 1865, as they were preparing to board the ship waiting in the bay of Hashima, some of the Satsuma party bound for Britain wrote some lines of *waka* poetry. Finally persuaded to face the outside world, Hatakeyama Yoshinari showed both loyalty to his *han* and a certain lack of enthusiasm for the adventure ahead when he wrote:

'If it be for my country, I may now endure  
this of all the countless journeys in these troubled times.'

Yoshida Kiyonari,<sup>b</sup> another member of the party with *jōi* sympathies, seems to have viewed this imminent departure as a defining moment in shaping his future:

'Now the time has come to bend before the wind,  
Rising over Hashima away into the Heavens.'

Matsumura Junzō, on the other hand, gave an impression of being much more in control of his destiny, and fully aware of the heroic aspect of the venture.

'Ever braver now, his fighting spirit stirred,  
How manly is the figure of the departing warrior.'<sup>5</sup>

The poetic diaries of Nonaka Motoemon,<sup>c</sup> a merchant from Saga bound for the Paris Exposition in 1867, and Matsumura of Satsuma even recorded the moment of departure itself. Nonaka embarked at Nagasaki and, equipped with a passport, was able to survey the sights and sounds of the port from above deck. He observed how 'the whistle was sounded in quick succession, the anchor was hauled up and

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a. 杉徳輔

b. 吉田清成

c. 野中元右衛門

the ship's engines roared'.<sup>6</sup> Matsumura watched the coastline gradually receding from view and wrote that 'as the ship put out to sea, Hashima became shrouded in mist and was lost from view'. He also captured his thoughts in verse:

'If you know my mind, spring mist, rise up and cover the land,  
For as long as the island of Yamato remains in view.'<sup>7</sup>

Both Nonaka and Matsumura were setting out to create literary works, linking their verse with consciously elegant prose. Their diaries were clearly intended for some audience, although it was not until more than 60 years after the event that Matsumura's diary was published in *Sappan Kaigun Shi* [History of the Satsuma Navy].<sup>a</sup> After his sudden death in Paris in 1867, Nonaka's diary was kept in the family and finally published by his son in 1936.

As the coast of Japan disappeared from view, the traveller soon discovered that his introduction to life abroad was constrained by the class of vessel on which his passage had been arranged. Ahead lay a voyage of at least two months if he was on board the fastest steam passenger ships travelling via Suez, and three months or more if journeying around the Cape of Good Hope on a merchant sailing ship.

Those on the 1862 *bakufu* mission perhaps had the least traumatic cultural experience of all for the troopship *HMS Odin* had been reserved for their use and was specially fitted out with Japanese baths and *tatami* matting. Smoking, however, was only permitted on deck and restricted to daylight hours. This proved impossible during heavy rainfall, and Shibata Takenaka complained of 'frequently thirsting for tobacco'.<sup>8</sup>

Unlike most Japanese overseas travellers, the *bakufu* party on *HMS Odin* had no opportunities to observe other European passengers on board. A more representative pattern would be to be board a European mail ship at Nagasaki or Yokohama before transferring to a usually grander P & O passenger steamship at Shanghai or Hong Kong and sailing for Suez via Singapore, Ceylon and Aden. Many were impressed by the service on P & O passenger ships. Fuchinabe Tokuzō, travelling with Rutherford Alcock to join the main *bakufu* party in London in 1862, recorded on boarding at Shanghai that 'the passengers are all wealthy

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a. 『薩藩海軍史』

merchants, the tables and chairs are all beautifully clean and the food is delicious, providing every comfort for the weary traveller'.<sup>9</sup>

Some Japanese travellers made their voyage on French ships calling at Saigon on the way, but for the most part, their experience of ports of call was a tour of British possessions in Asia. Victorians themselves were aware of the potential impact of such a route. In 1876, for example, when Dr Halliday Macartney was booking the first Chinese embassy to visit Europe on a P & O steamer, he reasoned that this would have 'a profound effect upon the members of the Embassy who could not but be impressed at seeing the British flag flying in every port of call they came to and thus girdling half the globe'.<sup>10</sup>

Often the grandest passenger ship of all would be waiting at Alexandria for the final leg of the voyage. For the 1862 *bakufu* mission, another troop ship, *HMS Himalaya* was specially provided, a vessel that Ichikawa described as 'grand and imposing with the most beautiful machinery, and the utmost care is taken over the dinner service and the taste of the food prepared'.<sup>11</sup> Takashima was apparently unaware of the larger *Great Eastern* when he described this ship as 'most beautifully constructed, the biggest warship in the world, and able to accommodate 2,000 soldiers'.<sup>12</sup> The 1865 Satsuma party had already travelled on two P & O steamships before arriving at Alexandria where they 'boarded a British passenger ship called the *Delhi*'. Hatakeyama noted that 'this was only completed last year and is the most beautiful ship imaginable from the cabins to every last detail'.<sup>13</sup>

The most spartan ocean voyages undergone by early travellers were those on board British merchant sailing ships. Such experiences were limited to a few *mikkōsha* like the five Chōshū officers in 1863 and Nomura's party two years later whose passage had been arranged by British merchants in Yokohama and Nagasaki respectively. Unlike steamships that had to put into port to take on coal, these vessels could avoid port tax by sailing directly around the Cape of Good Hope to London. As a result, they offered no opportunity to observe the state of affairs in places like Hong Kong and Singapore en route.



ii) the China experience: Shanghai and Hong Kong

Most voyages to Europe made frequent stops, and the first port of call was often Shanghai, just seven days by ship from Nagasaki. This provided an opportunity to observe the state of affairs in China and see how far European interests had developed there in the twenty years since the Opium War. The commercial activity that Japanese travellers saw far surpassed that in treaty ports like Yokohama and Nagasaki. Observing the harbour from his ship in 1862, one diarist thought there were 'perhaps as many as 100 western ships in Shanghai, and perhaps as many as 10,000 Chinese ships'. Another thought that 'several thousand European merchant and warships are moored here, their masts like a forest, filling up the mouth of the river'.<sup>1</sup> In 1866, Nire Kagenori, a *mikkōsha* from Satsuma, paid more attention to accuracy but was equally impressed: 'I cannot say how many hundreds of Chinese ships there are here, but the quay is certainly more than one *ri* in length, and for the first time I have become aware of the great scale of the world'.<sup>2</sup>

Stepping ashore, the Japanese traveller soon found himself the subject of attention from the local population. Kawaji Tarō, leader of the party of *bakufu* students bound for Britain in late 1866, described how 'we all went ashore at two o'clock, still wearing our Japanese clothes and carrying swords', and noted that 'many Chinese people on the wharf came and looked at us'.<sup>3</sup> A *bakufu* retainer in Shanghai in 1862 wrote of how 'a crowd gathered around us making it difficult to walk'.<sup>4</sup>

One perspective that a number of Japanese travellers developed during their stays in Shanghai or Hong Kong in the 1860s was a critical attitude towards the local Chinese populations for having apparently surrendered their independence to the Europeans. The severity of such attacks perhaps reflected the writers' own underlying fears for the future of Japanese sovereignty. For men educated in Chinese letters themselves, the power the Europeans held in these ports posed a threat to their own cultural identity. Occasionally, diarists would comment favourably on the Chinese. In Shanghai, for example, Kawaji Tarō noticed that 'even the poorest people here possess a rare gift for writing Chinese characters' and declared that 'this is truly a country of culture'.<sup>5</sup> More often, however, the local population was characterised as too weak to

protect their proud culture from western economic assault. Okada Setsuzō commented on Shanghai in 1865 that 'silk, tea, cotton and pottery are all shipped around the world from this port, but the locals are lazy and losing their wealth'.<sup>6</sup>

The apparent erosion of Chinese political authority was never more in evidence than during the spring of 1862 when a *bakufu* party spent two months in Shanghai even as Taiping rebels approached, advancing so close that the sound of cannon could be heard from inside the city walls.<sup>7</sup> The Japanese were amazed to find that the gates were manned not by Chinese soldiers, but by British and French guards. Nōtomi Kaijirō<sup>a</sup> was 'merely greeted with silence' when he asked the Chinese why they relied on Europeans for their own defence.<sup>8</sup> Nakamuta Kuranosuke was even mistaken for a native of Shanghai and refused passage through the gates. 'By entrusting their own defence to westerners', he wrote, 'the Chinese people cannot hope to be allowed to pass through their own city gates. Even given that these are the last stages of the Taiping rebellion, the power of the westerners here is so marked that it makes the Chinese look quite pitiful. How low has the might of China fallen'.<sup>9</sup> Another observer, Takasugi Shinsaku,<sup>b</sup> noted that 'the Chinese are completely at the beck and call of the outsiders. If a British person walks down the street, the Chinese all make way and move to one side. Shanghai is officially part of China, but in reality can be said to belong to Britain and France'.<sup>10</sup>

Japanese travellers arriving in Shanghai thus saw the influence of Britain there primarily in terms of semi-colonial domination. Four years after Takasugi's visit, Kawaji Tarō was also disturbed by the diminished status of the Chinese. After boarding a P & O passenger ship, he wrote that 'the British people on board here have great power'. He thought they received preferential treatment from the crew, and claimed that Chinese passengers could not get first class tickets, however wealthy they were. Indian students travelling to Britain on P & O steamers such as Upendra Krishna Dutt in 1876, also complained of the racial prejudice they suffered at the hands of the British.<sup>11</sup> Although European passengers could be intolerant of their custom and dress, Japanese diarists rarely referred directly to such ill-treatment unless, like Nakamuta, they had been mistaken for being Chinese. Nevertheless, Kawaji's experience of British

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a. 納富介次郎

b. 高杉晋作

attitudes towards the Chinese certainly struck a raw nerve: 'I have been thinking night and day of how much I wish our government would quickly create a navy and build passenger ships to carry our people all round the world, spreading the glow of the rising sun and the power of Japan'.<sup>12</sup>

Kawaji was thus observing British commercial and military power as a yardstick against which to measure Japanese ambitions. In the same year, Nire felt provoked into thinking along similar lines after witnessing the apparently impressive precision of a military parade in Shanghai, held in honour of Queen Victoria's 40th birthday. A military man himself, he lamented: 'I am in despair; I find it unbearably infuriating that the martial state of Japan is too enfeebled to match such prowess'.<sup>13</sup> Clearly, manifestations of British military power in Asia could provoke sensitive responses from travelling *samurai*.

A number of those among the *bakufu* party that visited Shanghai in 1862 had recorded quite detailed diaries. The onset of passport travel, however, soon reduced the sense of novelty in visiting this, the closest Chinese port to the coast of Japan. In 1867, for example, when Nakai Hiroshi passed through Shanghai on his way to Europe, he wrote dismissively that 'there are now many Japanese who have already been to Shanghai, so I will simply put my brush away and wait for another day'.<sup>14</sup>

After Shanghai, the next port of call on the way to Europe was Hong Kong, a British colony since 1842. From the harbour, the whole settlement could be seen lit up by gaslight, a scene so novel for Japanese diarists that it often called to mind the sight of fireflies in Japan. When the Satsuma party arrived on an April evening in 1865, Matsumura Junzō described how 'the masts of merchant ships were standing like forest trees or a field of hemp seen from afar, and the lights on the streets were like fireflies in summer'.<sup>15</sup> On the same ship, Machida Hisanari<sup>a</sup> was writing a sparse official journal to inform the Satsuma *han* authorities of the party's progress, but also noted that when 'the ship weighed anchor in Hong Kong after six in the evening, the scene on the shore was just like the light of fireflies'.<sup>16</sup>

The 1862 *bakufu* mission had arrived in daylight hours, but Ichikawa recorded how,

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a. 町田久成

'after nightfall, I went up on deck and surveyed the view. Light was shining from the windows of houses stretching halfway up the mountainside. With the numerous lights shining from the ships moored in the harbour, it was like an autumn evening with fireflies flying around in all directions'.<sup>17</sup> Similarly, Kikuchi Dairoku, one of the *bakufu* students bound for Britain in late 1866, also thought that the gas lights 'look like a thousand scattered fireflies'.<sup>18</sup> Kawaji Tarō described the scene with enthusiasm: 'at night, the lights fill the land on both shores halfway up the mountain slopes like the fire of fireflies, a web of stars. It would be difficult to express such a scene in painting, and the combination of mountain and water here is so wonderfully exquisite as to make it difficult to describe on paper for such an ungifted writer as myself'.<sup>19</sup> Nonaka Motoemon, the Saga merchant bound for the Paris Exposition, alighted on a similar theme a few months later, writing that the lights on shore 'were thicker than the stars in the night sky of autumn'.<sup>20</sup>

For a diarist hoping to make a contribution to Japanese knowledge of world affairs, Hong Kong would have to be examined in a more detached light. Mashizu Shunjirō, a veteran of the 1860 mission to America, quickly seized the opportunity to investigate when he arrived in 1862 with the *bakufu* mission bound for Europe. He recalled that 'two years ago, we saw the prosperity of Hong Kong on the voyage back from America via the Cape of Good Hope and Java but did not go ashore and saw only the houses near the waterfront packed densely like the teeth of a comb. This time, however, we disembarked, saw the city streets and how much the bases of the hills have been carved out, how stones are used to build walls and how, year by year there are increasing numbers of houses imitating the western style'.

Mashizu recognised signs of development in Hong Kong as the results of a controlled experiment by the British, and interspersed his daily journal with short essays in a recognisable *tansaku* style similar to that found in the diaries of Takashima Sukehiro on the same voyage, Okada Setsuzō three years later, or even in Kume Kunitake's edited *Kairan Jikki* the following decade. He explained that Hong Kong 'is becoming a most prosperous place due to the fact that no port tax is levied on ships entering the harbour. It is thought beneficial to develop wastelands by creating tax havens, and ships from all

countries put in to port so that there are never less than seventy or eighty ships in the harbour. This naturally leads to land development as people come to like the place and emigrate here'.<sup>21</sup> In 1867, Kawaji was less scientific in approach, but realised that a planned commercial centre like this could serve as a model for Japanese designs in the northern island of Hokkaidō, commenting that, 'if a few places in Yezo were to be developed, they too could perhaps become prosperous in the future'.<sup>22</sup>

For many travellers, Hong Kong was the first port of call after leaving Japan, and the harsh words vented on the Chinese in Shanghai were often echoed here by diarists observing the relations between the British, the local population and also refugees escaping in their thousands from the social dislocation on the mainland in the wake of the Taiping rebellion. One of these was Fukuzawa Yukichi who recorded in his travel journal in 1862 that 'the customs of the natives are extremely base and they are all used simply as servants of the British'.<sup>23</sup> Matsumura was also dismissive in 1865, noting that 'the Chinese on this island are servants of the barbarians and rush through the city streets in all directions'.<sup>24</sup> The most stinging attack, however, was perhaps that by Ichikawa Wataru who wrote in 1862 that 'they are all base and devious characters. As soon as they realise we are Japanese they come close chattering noisily. They have not the slightest understanding of manners and include in their number greedy and heartless individuals who steal the baggage of passing travellers'. Ichikawa also tried to dissociate himself and Japan from the chaos of contemporary China, commenting that 'China was once a powerful and immense country, but to have now become servants of the barbarian British and treated like slaves is a matter of reaping what they have sown'.<sup>25</sup>

As the first British colony that many Japanese travellers saw, considerable attention was paid in Hong Kong to local institutions such as the Murray Barracks, the Anglo-Chinese College and the Mint. Visits to military installations in particular produced descriptions filled with numerical figures, and even Ichikawa Wataru, not the most scientific of investigators, recorded a 'stock of cannonballs piled high like a hill', complaining that, 'unfortunately, we soon had to leave and had no time to ask about their numbers'.<sup>26</sup> He later ascertained that 'there are always 5,000 troops stationed here, prepared for any

unforeseen circumstances'.<sup>27</sup> In 1867, Sano Tsunetami,<sup>a</sup> head of the Saga delegation on the way to the Paris Exposition recorded that 'when Koide (Sennosuke, the interpreter) asked a guard how many troops were stationed there, he was told there were 780 British soldiers and 900 Indian troops'.<sup>28</sup> Kikuchi Dairoku, just thirteen years old during his stay in Hong Kong late the previous year, was more impressed by the precision of the garrison, recording how his party of *bakufu* students 'went to the British barracks and watched the soldiers at drill. The sound of hundreds of feet was like that of a single man, and all those watching were practically moving too with the exciting sound of drums, flutes and trumpets'.<sup>29</sup>

The Anglo-Chinese College, or *Ying-wa-shu-yun*,<sup>b</sup> founded in 1843 by Dr James Legge, was often visited by Japanese travellers in Hong Kong. Legge was still there in the 1860s, and was described in Japanese diaries as an impressive figure, although the quality of his Chinese characters was belittled by Ichikawa when he wrote out a message proclaiming that all men are brothers.<sup>30</sup> The Confucian scholar Nakamura Masanao felt uncomfortable with Legge's academic endeavours, commenting that 'for a westerner to become a Chinese scholar poses problems for the Japanese'.<sup>31</sup> It was perhaps ironic that, when he voiced such doubts, Nakamura had already arrived in London where he was engaged in the task of becoming a scholar of English. Kikuchi Dairoku, among others, recorded visits to the Anglo-Chinese College in Hong Kong, but the most detailed description was that in the diary of Sano Tsunetami who observed several classes in 1867, recording particulars of the curriculum, outlining teaching methods and noting how the students were set translations from Confucian texts. A Dutch scholar himself, with experience of schools in Edo, Kyōto, Ōsaka, Nagasaki and Saga, Sano confessed to being 'greatly impressed by how disciplined and thorough the system of education was'.<sup>32</sup>

Sano also drew on his own scientific background in describing the mint in Hong Kong in some detail. He may have been particularly interested as his native Hizen was one of the *han* that started issuing their own coinage in the last years of the Edo period. He was shown around each room together with the merchant Nonaka Motoemon and Hanabusa Yoshimoto from Bizen. Nonaka commented only that 'today we went to a place called a mint or something like that'.

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a. 佐野常民

b. 英華書院

while Hanabusa recorded a few of the most important figures. Sano, however, described at length the machinery in each room, and returned the following day to ask the British engineers questions, resulting in an exhaustive analysis of gold, silver and bronze metal contents in European, American, Chinese and Japanese currencies.<sup>33</sup> The machinery he described was the same that Godai Tomoatsu later arranged to purchase when making preparations for setting up the Imperial Mint in Ōsaka. These visits gave Sano new insight into the rise of British commerce in Asia. 'This mint' he wrote, 'is on a truly grand scale, and suggests that it is the existence of a facility like this here that has enabled the British in recent years to gain access to trade as they please in various Chinese ports and even in the interior too'. He then concluded by voicing directly the fears that other diarists had vaguely hinted at when criticising the apparent servility of the Chinese in Shanghai and Hong Kong: 'I was struck by the realisation that we have to become hardened to the cruel reality of our own situation without delay if Japan is to avoid being overrun like China'.<sup>34</sup>

### iii) Singapore, the Indian Ocean and the Middle East

A week's journey south of Hong Kong lay Singapore, the next stop on the way to Europe. Ichikawa noted in conventional style that, as in Hong Kong, there were 'large buildings here and there like the teeth of a comb'.<sup>1</sup> Five years later, Kawaji was unimpressed, and thought the city's appearance was 'hard to compare with the prosperity of Hong Kong'. In his view, 'if Hong Kong were Ōsaka, this place would be Sunpu or Sakai. It is half town and half country'. There was still enough there to enable him to write that 'the progress here is amazing', with 'carriages passing to and fro along wide streets, and gaslamps every 40 to 50 *ken*'.<sup>a</sup> He was left musing again on the desirability of change in Japan, although he assumed that the *bakufu* would be the agent rather than a victim of reform. Summing up his first weeks overseas, he wrote: 'since we left our country, I have seen how greatly Japan is surpassed by the state of progress and the wealth of the land in Shanghai, Hong Kong and now here'. He commented in reflective mood that 'this simply makes me pray all the more for a new dawn of progress'.<sup>2</sup>

One curiosity recorded by several diarists in Singapore was the custom local youths had of approaching incoming ships 'in dug-out canoes and asking the

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a. III (1 *ken* = approx. 1.8m)

passengers to throw them money'.<sup>3</sup> Matsumura noted how people on board would 'throw coins in the water and watch them swim to find them', and Nakai thought the swimmers were 'as swift as sea otters'.<sup>4</sup> Nonaka saw not coins, but dollar notes thrown in the water, and confessed that he 'threw some notes as well'.<sup>5</sup> Such scenes, first encountered in Singapore, were to be found in a number of the ports of call frequented by passenger ships travelling between Asia and Europe.

After leaving Singapore, passenger ships bound for Europe traversed the Indian Ocean, stopping at the port of Galle in Ceylon. Although it was the largest port on the island, it was smaller than Shanghai, Hong Kong or Singapore, and Ichikawa noted that 'the entire town is devoid of any vigour, with not one prosperous house to be seen'.<sup>6</sup> Sano Tsunetami suggested that the natural wealth he saw there might explain the apparent lack of industry, commenting that 'the earth is too rich, providing clothing and food for the natives so that they do not work and simply content themselves with the diversions of the poor'.<sup>7</sup>

The one aspect of Ceylon that exercised great interest among passing Japanese travellers was the Buddhist religion, and the comparisons this allowed with their own land. Matsumura pointed out how 'the locals have shaven heads or wear their hair loose, like those who have taken Buddhist orders in Japan'.<sup>8</sup> Okada noticed how some local priests, 'knowing that Buddhism is practised in Japan, produced their sutras and started chanting', and 'the tone of their voices was identical to that of Shintō priests in Japan'.<sup>9</sup>

Ceylon had been a centre of early Buddhist belief, prompting several diarists to make erroneous claims about local holy places. The highest mountain, the present-day Sri Pada, for example, is believed to have been visited by Buddha when he flew to Ceylon from mainland India, and Japanese travellers confused this with *Ryōjuzen*, a low hill in Bengal where Buddha had once preached. Ichikawa wrote that 'the mountain the westerners know as *Mt Adams* must be what the Chinese call *Ryōjuzen*'.<sup>10</sup> Fuchinabe declared that 'the tallest mountain on this island was once visited by Buddha himself and is none other than *Ryōjuzen*, though it is known to the British as *Mt Adams*'.<sup>11</sup> Three years later, Matsumura also recorded that 'Ceylon is a holy island for Buddhists, and 30 British miles from Galle (fifteen of our *ri*) is the place called *Ryōjuzen*'.<sup>12</sup> Other writers,



like Mori Hachitarō and Kurozawa Shinzaemon<sup>a</sup> in 1862, even sent letters back to Japan claiming that Buddha was born in Ceylon, and not his native Nepal.<sup>13</sup> Ozaki Saburō also recorded this to be 'the place in India where Buddha is said to have been born'.<sup>14</sup> Another variation on this theme was the claim made by Ichikawa that Buddha was buried at Kandy, while Mori Hachitarō also noted how locals had informed the 1862 *bakufu* party that his burial mound was located some distance inland.<sup>15</sup>

Galle was often the only port of call on the voyage across the Indian Ocean from Singapore to Aden. The 1865 Satsuma party, however, also spent a short time in Bombay where they found the most complete example yet of a city developed by the British. It was exactly 200 years since Charles II had received the city of Bombay from the King of Portugal as part of Henrietta Maria's dowry, the same match that the *bakufu* had then cited in refusing trade to the English East India Company in 1673. Hatakeyama noted that the harbour was 'truly grand in scale' and had heard there were around 400 ships in port, including several warships. He wrote that 'Bombay has prospered greatly in recent years, and is much more impressive than places like Singapore. In the city, buildings over five storeys high can be seen and there is even a railway line'.<sup>16</sup> Matsumura thought Bombay was 'a thriving place with houses of six and seven storeys amazing to behold'.<sup>17</sup> Other than castle donjons and pagodas, multi-storied buildings were still a novelty in Japan and early overseas travellers often pointed out the number of floors in the western-style buildings they saw.

Sojourns in ports of call such as Galle and Bombay brought only occasional relief from the tedium of the long voyage to Europe. Sea-sickness was a common problem, and a number of Japanese travellers developed symptoms of illness. They were tormented by the heat they encountered in the South China Sea, and during their passage across the Indian Ocean and through the Red Sea. Shortly before arriving in Singapore, Fuchinabe wrote in 1862 that 'after nightfall the heat became more intense, and it was too hot to sleep in my cabin, so I went for a walk on deck to cool down. The light of the moon was like a picture with endless golden waves. Halfway through the night, a cool breeze arrived at last and it was already past four o'clock before I first felt sleep upon me'.<sup>18</sup> Takashima described in verse how 'the insects of Singapore sing: although it is still

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a. 森八太郎、黒沢新左衛門

only Springtime, the heat at night is hard to bear'.<sup>19</sup> He later wrote that the heat in his cabin during the journey through the Red Sea was 'like lighting a fire in a closed room'.<sup>20</sup> Three years later, Shibata also complained that 'from early evening onwards, the heat is particularly intense, making it almost unbearable to retire to my cabin'.<sup>21</sup> Kawaji wrote in 1866 that, due to the heat, 'we all feel listless and exhausted, and quite a few of us are at our wits' ends'.<sup>22</sup>

In addition to perhaps updating their diaries and struggling against illness and the heat, some Japanese travellers on their way to Europe used the long hours on board to improve their knowledge of western studies. During the Satsuma students' passage across the Indian Ocean in 1865, Hatakeyama once recorded that he 'spent the day as usual reading and writing English exercises and studying arithmetic'.<sup>23</sup> Later that year, Nomura noted that he and his two travelling companions had 'turned the captain's cabin into a classroom where we are receiving instruction in English and mathematics'.<sup>24</sup> Nomura borrowed a book on navigation from Mawatari Hachirō and, like Nire Kagenori the following year, developed his interest in nautical studies during the voyage, and carefully observed the procedure of signal exchanges with passing ships. He thought it was 'quite miraculous how flags are used like this at a distance of ten *ri* to send out questions and answers even more reliable than the spoken word'.<sup>25</sup>

Other than passing ships, the only encounters on the open sea during the voyage across the Indian Ocean were the occasional sightings of flying fish. Ichikawa reported seeing 'some flying fish swarming in the air like mosquitoes'.<sup>26</sup> Hatakeyama was perhaps more surprised when 'a flying fish about four *sun*<sup>a</sup> in length flew into my cabin'.<sup>27</sup> Nomura, however, was able to catch and eat a fish that flew on deck one day, and likened the taste to that of a young mullet.<sup>28</sup>

Some travellers found other diversions on board. Nire Kagenori noted one day how he 'played *shōgi*<sup>b</sup> with the captain, losing twice and winning once'.<sup>29</sup> Nakai Hiroshi found his captain a useful source of information in his attempts to discover the secret of British power in the colonies he had seen. According to the captain, he wrote, 'there are more than fifty large steamships operating in Asian waters, including eight between Calcutta and Suez, eight between Bombay

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a. 寸 (1 *sun* = 3.03cm)

b. 将棋

and Suez, and six between Singapore and Ceylon. This is truly the reason why Britain holds such great power in the seas of Asia'.<sup>30</sup>

Japanese travellers' growing awareness of British influence in the Indian Ocean was reinforced on their arrival in Aden. Used by the British as a base since 1839, the town itself was unprepossessing with a population of just 20,000. Ichikawa thought that there was 'not so much as the shortest blade of grass, or the thinnest silken thread of running water to be found'.<sup>31</sup> In 1865, Hatakeyama also described it as 'a barren place with not so much as a single blade of grass to be seen'.<sup>32</sup> Nonaka received a lively reception from the local population when he ventured ashore in 1867, and commented that 'the racket of their calls was like an evening chorus of sparrows'.<sup>33</sup>

Although Aden was hardly the most intimidating military stronghold, several Japanese travellers arriving there paused to reflect on the extent of British influence they had seen thus far on the voyage to Europe. Kawaji Tarō wrote that 'it is truly astonishing to witness the power and prosperity of Britain as we have done. Rich lands in Asia, Hong Kong, Singapore, Aden and the strategic islands of the Red Sea are all under British control'. Again, he dreamed of a reinvigorated Japan assuming the role of champion in Asia: 'I can only deplore how all the lands of the East have been left so exposed and defenceless, and simply hope that Japan makes haste in raising a navy, taking action around the world and lighting up the power of the Emperor'.<sup>34</sup>

Travellers bound for Europe then made their way through Egypt, stopping at Suez, Cairo and Alexandria. Some had time to visit the Pyramids as A. Beato recorded in his famous photograph of members of the Ikeda mission beside the Sphinx in 1864.<sup>35</sup> A few diarists found Egypt reminiscent of Japan in some ways, and Okada thought that 'many of the natives' customs resemble our own'.<sup>36</sup> Hatakeyama noted in Suez that 'there are ships similar to those in our country'.<sup>37</sup> On the train from Suez to Cairo, Ozaki wrote that 'the garments worn by monks in these parts are very much like the robes of monks in Japan'.<sup>38</sup> Kikuchi compared the Pasha's Garden in Cairo with Ueno Chūdō,<sup>a</sup> the central building of the *Kan'ei-ji* temple complex in Ueno.<sup>39</sup>

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a. 上野中堂

Egypt, however, was another once proud power now subjugated under foreign rule. As one traveller recorded, 'although it now lies within Turkish territory, Cairo was once most powerful and flourishing', commenting that the city had 'fallen into decay, with three to five houses in ten reduced to ruins'.<sup>40</sup> As in Hong Kong, Ichikawa saw the loss of sovereignty as a self-inflicted punishment, condemning the Egyptians as 'foolish, devious and lazy'.<sup>41</sup> Staggered by the luxury of the great buildings in Cairo, he also held the rulers responsible, for in his view, it was 'perhaps because these palaces and temples are so extravagantly rich that the streets and houses in the city have fallen into decay'.<sup>42</sup>

#### iv) Europe

After leaving Alexandria, Japanese travellers' first glimpse of Europe itself was often on the British colony of Malta. If the ports of call in Asia had together created an impression of British military power, it was reinforced by the sight of the fortifications in Valetta. In Ichikawa's view, 'this island certainly commands the whole of the Mediterranean Sea'.<sup>1</sup> Takashima was impressed by the sight of troops on parade, commenting that 'there was no one watching who was not struck with admiration at the precision of the drill advancing, retreating, stopping and moving'.<sup>2</sup> Kawaji was lost for words to convey his impressions of the harbour defences which he thought were 'so formidable, I find it hard to describe their form with brush and paper. These batteries are simply the most astonishing thing I have seen since we set out from Edo'.<sup>3</sup>

Having seen recently imported western influence in ports in Asia and the Middle East, Malta provided the first opportunity to observe an older European culture. Here there was evidence of a pre-industrial culture they could contrast with their own knowledge of Japan. In 1865, Matsumura saw old suits of armour, 'sturdy creations, complete with metal plates screening the face like a net'. To him, these 'looked hundreds of years old, so it appears that westerners too used long spears and swords a long time ago'.<sup>4</sup> According to Godai Tomoatsu, those among the Satsuma party on the way to Britain in 1865 were much struck by their visit to Malta, and persuaded to rapidly revise their perceptions of Europe. In a letter to the *han* authorities, he reported that, 'of those who have

made this trip far across the ocean, over half are committed followers of the *jōi* movement. Having arrived on the island of Malta in the Mediterranean Sea and experienced European civilization for themselves, however, they are now wracked with remorse. They are ashamed of the views they had so fervently espoused and are reflecting genuinely on the poverty of their own knowledge. Even (Niino) Gyōbu<sup>a</sup> and myself who have studied European affairs before never imagined that the reality could be anything quite like this'. Godai did not specify exactly what it was that had affected his party so much, but clearly felt that there was even more to learn from Europe than he had previously imagined. He explained that 'throughout this long voyage, my own thoughts have also gradually changed, and I now determined more than ever to concentrate single-mindedly on the opportunities for study in this expedition, and to observe as much as possible with each passing day'.<sup>5</sup>

Although Godai had not yet even arrived in Britain, the experience of the voyage had already induced changes in his attitudes towards politics in Japan. He was apparently developing misgivings about existing administrative structures at both central and *han* levels in Japan, and even harboured doubts over his own wisdom in campaigning for this Satsuma expedition to Britain. 'Bearing in mind the current state of affairs in Japan,' he argued, 'it may be said that the day for sending students to Europe has not yet arrived. Even if they complete their studies successfully and return to Japan, lack of knowledge among their superior officers will render impossible the implementation of reform as men below are unable to influence those above'. In a separate letter, he thus advocated sending high-ranking officials abroad to study, a policy that was to be realised in the early Meiji years when a succession of *daimyōs'* sons and aristocrats began to travel overseas.<sup>6</sup>

Occasionally, passenger ships would put into port at Gibraltar before leaving the Mediterranean Sea on the way to Britain. The strategic significance of the colony was not lost on Japanese travellers. As Kawaji had already been told in Malta, 'the British are most proud of the fact that the gun batteries here and on Gibraltar at the entrance of the Mediterranean are the most invincible in the world'.<sup>7</sup> Observing the port at the start of the voyage back to Japan, Fukuzawa recognised that 'the British hold power in the Mediterranean because

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a. 新納刑部 (久 銘)

they hold the two island fortresses of Gibraltar and Malta'.<sup>8</sup>

After the long journey from Japan, travellers greeted their arrival in Britain with relief, and sometimes a sense of incredulity that they had survived their voyage at all. At this stage, their experience of Victorian life had been largely confined to life on ship and in ports of call, an experience that had nevertheless provided clear glimpses of the extent and nature of Britain's sea-based commercial power. This theme was apparent in diarists' descriptions of their arrival in British ports. Perhaps the most eloquent example is the impression of the Thames written by Nomura Fumio in early 1866.

'The appearance of this river is very much like the Yodogawa river in Japan. One warship was so magnificent as to surely have no equal throughout the five oceans. The houses gradually became grander and more densely packed as we passed through Greenwich. Here there were tall imposing houses of five or six storeys all in a line like the teeth of a comb. Huge sawmills, shipyards and other buildings stood together like trees in a forest, chimneys rose above them stretching towards the heavens, the whistle of a steam train could be heard, and even though we had not yet even reached the port, I already felt certain that no city in the world could rival such prosperity'.<sup>9</sup>

A few months later, Nire Kagenori also arrived in the port of London. He was as impressed as Nomura, although his military inclinations perhaps outweighed any concerns for commerce. 'Here there was a castle', he wrote, 'and gun batteries and numerous barracks as well. There seemed to be no end to the oncoming ships which, with a fair wind behind them, kept passing by relentlessly. This must indeed be ranked as the greatest metropolis in the world'.<sup>10</sup>

Unlike other travellers, Nomura had not seen the lights of either Shanghai or Hong Kong. He was thus particularly struck by the way in which 'lights were clustered together in lines on both banks. Lights also shone from the sides of even the small boats. These illuminations are necessary as thousands of ships are gathered here, even though the river is immensely wide. Blue and red lights flickered and shone like fireflies and stars, creating a vision to delight all who saw them. In addition, lights shone from the ships' masts, and those on the

tug boats were very bright. We also saw some steam-powered boats, each equipped with two or three powerful beams going about the task of digging the sand in shallow parts of the river and levelling the river bed. In addition to these beautiful lights, I could hear music here and there, and at ten o'clock we arrived safely in a harbour called St. Katharine's Dock, had a quick drink with the captain to celebrate and, in my excitement, I found it most difficult to sleep'.<sup>11</sup>

When the passenger ship carrying the party of *bakufu* students sailed past the Isle of Wight and up the Solent later that year, Kawaji announced more succinctly but with a similar weight of emphasis that 'there are many houses here in Southampton, all of them most beautiful, and the criss-crossing networks of railways and telegraphs are truly the height of progress'.<sup>12</sup> Nakai Hiroshi of Satsuma also arrived in Southampton in 1867 and, as he had possibly anticipated, he found that his first sight of a port in Britain provided a favourable opportunity to deliver a political lecture stressing the inevitability of *kaikoku*, the opening up of Japan to the world outside.<sup>a</sup> He noted in his diary that 'on the quayside were several shipyards most grand in scale. There I saw for the first time the impressive sight of the hull of a really large steamship'.<sup>13</sup>

This background gave Nakai the cue he felt was needed to comment on events in Japan. The extent to which the slogan *fukoku kyōhei*, 'a wealthy country and powerful army' was then current can be discerned by his use of an abbreviated form of *fukyō*, or simply 'wealth and power'.<sup>b</sup> He wrote of how, 'at the moment, people of all regions in Japan are learning the customs of western countries and are converging on the open ports to promote the path of 'wealth and power'. There they meet westerners daily and throw money at them to buy weapons large and small or steam-powered merchant ships. Alternatively they sail to Shanghai and, on seeing the flourishing trade there, return with embellished reports of how wonderfully developed is the 'wealth and power' they have seen there, and strive all the more to eradicate their own narrow prejudices. This is all truly to be applauded, for today I have arrived in Britain, and on seeing for myself the justice of the customs and the truly developed 'wealth and power' to be found here, I have been looking towards the heavens, simply gasping in

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a. 開国

b. 富強

astonishment'.<sup>14</sup> The political intent here was clear, and although Nakai had certainly come into contact with a number of British passengers during the long voyage from Japan, it is hard to imagine how he could already have assessed British justice so soon after disembarking in Southampton. Nevertheless, this description of arrival in Britain was perhaps the most immediately influential, for it was already in print by mid-1868 in the second instalment of his published diary. Furthermore, having portrayed with self-confessed astonishment the components of colonial and commercial power in the sea-routes of Asia, Nakai, like other Japanese travellers on the voyage to Europe during the later 1860s, attributed to Britain the same 'wealth and power' that he was exhorting his compatriots to pursue.

#### Overseas travellers' encounters with European technology

As the need for *tansaku* research was recognised, the perceived sense of a technology gap, and the realisation that Japan would remain vulnerable to foreign aggression until the technical knowledge of the western powers was mastered, developed into one of the most powerful arguments for venturing overseas. The technological infrastructure that had emerged with the industrial revolution in Britain before spreading to Europe and overseas colonies was a novelty for the Japanese traveller in the 1860s. Although some may have had practical experience of western machinery from the Nagasaki naval training college or scientific institutes organised by the *bakufu* and some progressive *han*, the power and range of the new technologies which overseas travellers encountered were a source of great curiosity, and they took great care to record their impressions, often reinforcing their descriptive accuracy with measurements and statistical information.

During the 1860s, Japanese travellers' first encounters with the latest western technology often occurred not in Europe or America, but in ports of call during the voyage from Japan. Diary entries in Shanghai, Hong Kong and other ports provide the most notable first impressions of gaslights, steam trains and telegraphs. By the time they arrived in Europe, Japanese travellers had usually become familiar enough with the wonders of nineteenth century technology to refer to them only in passing, unless they were visiting a specific factory, or the machinery in question differed significantly from what they had



seen already.

One of the first experiences of Victorian technology was often the view of Hong Kong lit up at night, the scene that reminded Japanese visitors of fireflies. Gas street lighting had not yet arrived in the open ports of Yokohama and Nagasaki, and the novelty of the concept intrigued early travellers. Matsumura recorded in 1865 how 'these lamps are covered in glass, and at night they are lit up to help the flow of traffic. The light is derived not from oil but from the vapour of coal, making the night as bright as the light at noon'.<sup>1</sup> The following year, Kawaji thought this technology could soon be brought to Japan, noting that 'although these gas lamps are most astonishing, I am sure they could be installed in Edo before long given the necessary effort'.<sup>2</sup> He was also impressed by the gas lights in Southampton, commenting that 'even in the darkness of night, the numerous gas lamps lighting up the roads make it as bright as midday'.<sup>3</sup>

In London in 1865, Okada noticed the impact that lighting had on the thoroughfare. 'Day and night in Britain and France,' he wrote, 'many people read a newspaper as they walk along'. After visiting a gasworks in Portsmouth, he explained that 'every household has dozens of gas lights. There are also lights spaced at every seven or eight *ken* on both sides of city streets making it as bright as day and nobody carries lanterns'. He reported hearing that, 'in the near future, there will be so many gas lamps that we will no longer be able to distinguish night and day' and foretold a time when new inventions would turn the climate into perpetual Spring and Autumn, the most comfortable seasons in Japan.<sup>4</sup>

Perhaps the most imposing example of western machinery encountered by early overseas travellers was the steam train. There was nothing remotely like this in Japan where the fastest mode of transport was the horse. While Otokichi and his fellow castaways may have travelled by train during their stay in London during the 1830s, Nakahama Manjirō is often thought of as the first Japanese to have ridden a steam train in the 1840s, and he described his experience to the *bakufu* authorities the following decade. Perry also brought a model steam train to show the *bakufu*, and the Hizen *han* succeeded in building two working model

steam engines shortly afterwards. It was not until 1865, however, that the first full-size steam engine was seen in Japan when Thomas Glover imported the *Iron Duke* from Shanghai and ran it along an experimental line in the Ōura foreign settlement in Nagasaki. The first passenger service, on a line built by British engineers between Yokohama and Tokyo, was not opened until 1872.

Although the 1865 Satsuma party caught sight of railway lines in Bombay, the first occasion on which Japanese travellers bound for Europe in the 1860s encountered a steam train was most often at Suez. Until the completion of the Suez Canal in 1869, passengers on their way from Asia to Europe made the journey from Suez to Alexandria on a British-built railway line. Japanese diarists struggled to describe this curious machine, to understand how it worked, and to convey a sense of speed beyond the realm of their own experience. In 1862, for example, Ichikawa described how 'a steam engine is fitted to the carriage in front and runs thousands of miles with the speed of lightning'. He confessed that the sight of the train in motion 'makes the heart palpitate'.<sup>5</sup> Mashizu made a detailed report, summing up a train as 'several chambers chained together with a steam engine fitted to the front carriage'. He observed that 'it runs along an iron road at great speed with a noise like thunder. It is impossible to hold a conversation in a low voice while sitting inside a carriage, for it is like speaking to a deaf man'.<sup>6</sup>

Of those in the 1862 *bakufu* mission to Europe, it was Fuchinabe who perhaps described rail travel most graphically. He pointed out that 'the railway track comprises two iron rails laid one *sun* five *fun*<sup>a</sup> apart along which the wheels of the train run'. 'When everyone is aboard,' he explained, 'the doors are shut and with the signal from a whistle, the train moves off'. He recorded how 'every ten *ri* or so there was a station of just one or two buildings where water and coal were loaded. The passengers, he noticed, would get off to drink water or smoke tobacco, and 'after just ten minutes, the bell would sound again, and as soon as everyone was aboard, the doors would be shut and the train moved off again'. Rail travel often appeared hectic in the eyes of Japanese travellers, and Fuchinabe exclaimed: 'it is difficult to think of a comparison for such a display of haste'.<sup>7</sup>

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a. 分

Fuchinabe nevertheless captured the sense of speed on board a moving train. observing that it moved 'faster than a running horse, and if you look out of the window, objects in the foreground are difficult to make out, while those further away can be made out if you follow them with the eye'. He also managed to measure the train's speed, recounting how, 'through the window, I saw swift birds like hawks and falcons flying alongside the train and they appeared to be quite still and moving only their wings. The speed at which we were travelling can be fathomed by the fact that the train eventually drew ahead, leaving the hawks behind'.<sup>8</sup> Takashima was thinking along similar lines when he noted of the same train that 'its speed was faster than a bird in flight'.<sup>9</sup>

Other travellers' descriptions, although sometimes less credible, indicate the deep impression made by the Suez-Alexandria steam train. Matsumura thought that it had 'the speed of the rushing wind', and had heard 'that the Suez train covers seventeen *ri* in just one hour'.<sup>10</sup> Always prone to exaggeration, Kawaji recorded that 'we were moving with divine speed' on the journey to Cairo, while through the window, 'the mountains were not clearly visible, and appeared like a striped pattern in cloth'.<sup>11</sup> The twelve-year-old Kikuchi, travelling on the same train, wrote that it was simply 'faster than an arrow'.<sup>12</sup>

After this unforgettable experience in Egypt, subsequent journeys by rail merited little attention from Japanese diarists. The train journey from Dover to London, however, was notable for the succession of tunnels cut into the Downs, and due to its particularly impressive speed. Mashizu betrayed rare emotion when he recorded in 1862 that, 'after leaving the coast, the railway line ran across plains and through tunnels carved into the mountainside. Such ingenious skill was astonishing to behold'.<sup>13</sup> After reaching Dover via Paris and Calais a few months later, Fuchinabe travelled on the same line with Rutherford Alcock, and noticed that 'this train was faster than the one in France. The minister boasted of the excellence of three products from his country, the speed of the trains, the quality of the horses, and the delicious cuisine, and sure enough this turned out to be the case for, after a journey of 30 *ri* or so, we had soon arrived in London'.<sup>14</sup> Fuchinabe can have had little notion of British horses, but he had certainly commented favourably on the daily fare provided by the P & O Company during the voyage from Japan.

One new development in rail travel that interested Japanese travellers arriving in London was the opening of the world's first underground railway line between Paddington and Farringdon Street in 1863. Two years later, Okada explained that 'there are already railway lines built above ground, but the populace still felt a need for more convenient traffic. Two or three years ago, they achieved this by digging tunnels underground and laying a railway line through them, thus increasing the prosperity of London even more'.<sup>15</sup> In 1866, Nire was amazed to find that 'the trains actually run through tunnels carved out underneath the city, and one cannot help but marvel at such ingenuity'.<sup>16</sup>

After the power of steam, the modern technology that early Japanese diarists paid most attention to was the telegraph. The first officially recorded telegraph line in Japan ran parallel to the Yokohama-Tokyo railway and was completed by George Culphard in 1869. Thomas Glover, however, is thought to have set up his own line in Nagasaki sometime before. By 1871, work was undertaken with the help of British engineers to build a telegraph network stretching from Tokyo to Nagasaki in the south, and Tokyo to Aomori in the north. As a result, travellers in the early 1870s were less struck by the novelty of telegraph lines. Those venturing overseas in the 1860s, however, found them novel enough to describe in detail.

In 1867, Sano Tsunetami noticed that a telegraph line had been set up in Hong Kong 'along the seafront, linking the government building to the house of the wealthy merchant Jardine'.<sup>17</sup> Kawaji also recorded that 'in one or two places electric telegraph machinery has been installed, making a truly splendid sight'. He had reservations about whether this technology could be successfully transferred to his own country for, writing as a *bakufu* official himself, he predicted that 'if these were installed in Japan the lines would most certainly be cut by rebels'.<sup>18</sup> His fears were to be confirmed, though not in the way he imagined, for in the early Meiji years, guards had to be posted along telegraph lines to prevent damage from irate farmers whose land they traversed.

Many early travellers first made notes about the telegraph during the railway journey from Suez to Alexandria. Ichikawa recorded in 1862 that 'to one side of

the railway line, I saw poles each of which carried fourteen telegraph lines'.<sup>19</sup> Five years later, Nakai noticed that 'on both sides of the railway line there are telegraph lines strung out like the thread on a cobweb'.<sup>20</sup> Other diarists concentrated on the speed of communication that telegraphs allowed, or what Fuchinabe called 'the divine speed of the telegraph machine'.<sup>21</sup> Matsumura in 1865 recorded that 'the telegraph conveys urgent business so quickly that it arrives instantaneously. It reports how many people are travelling to the office in Alexandria or to the hotel on the way, what time the train left Suez and what time it will arrive'. This contributed to the general haste that Fuchinabe had noticed among the passengers. Matsumura too was surprised to find that 'when we arrived in Alexandria, there were already boats sent from our ship waiting for us, and no sooner had we got off the train than we were conveyed across the water to embark. It really was a wonder to behold'.<sup>22</sup>

On their arrival in Britain, some travellers had occasion to use the telegraph themselves. Both the 1865 Satsuma party and Nomura's party of three were able to communicate with James Glover, their contact there, within hours of their arrival. When the Satsuma party arrived in Southampton, Matsumura noted that 'within the space of about four-and-a-half hours, two letters were transmitted back and forth to London'.<sup>23</sup> When Nomura reached London the following year, Glover was in Aberdeen, and he was 'amazed by the speed of the telegraph which, within just two hours, transmitted two exchanges of messages to a place 474 miles away'.<sup>24</sup>

While telegraph lines were one of the most conspicuous examples of the latest information technology, Ichikawa also commented on newspapers and the postal system. He never overcame his *samurai* suspicion of the profit motive, and pointed out in Galle that newspapers 'are produced by people seeking profit for themselves above all else, much of the content is shallow, and not worth investigating. The speed with which information is related, however, is astonishing'.<sup>25</sup> His perspective of the postal network was perhaps influenced by his observations in the several ports of call during the long voyage from Japan. After arriving in London, he concluded that 'perhaps the reason why this country has such equipment is to facilitate the sending of letters from family members at home to those many soldiers posted overseas who protect the various colonies

around the world which Britain's military successes have created'.<sup>26</sup>

After arriving in Britain, Japanese travellers had opportunities to observe various other examples of technology. Whether at Crystal Palace where machinery was on display, at Woolwich Arsenal where Armstrong guns were being produced or at working factories, they expressed wonder at the steam machinery they saw. Nozawa described how one machine he saw at Woolwich 'took just five minutes to cut a rivet-sized hole through a steel plate, as easily as if it had been a radish'.<sup>27</sup> Nire confessed that another machine 'was so intricate, I could not understand it'.<sup>28</sup> Most Japanese travellers in London found time to visit the famous Thames Tunnel constructed by Brunel some twenty years before, which Fukuzawa described as 'a singular sight when you consider that the people in the tunnel are actually below the river-bed'.<sup>29</sup>

Having seen isolated examples of gas lighting, steam trains and telegraph lines during the voyage, however, it was the degree to which all this machinery was integrated into a modern infrastructure that perhaps made the most powerful impression, especially for those who had the opportunity to travel inland. Okada, for example, had been from London to Plymouth and Portsmouth and back, and reported in his diary that 'there are railways laid all over Britain like a net, with telegraph lines stretched like spiders' webs. If the entire length of rail track were to be calculated, the total would amount to 10,800 English miles'.<sup>30</sup> There was thus an accumulating awareness that the sheer variety and volume of the latest machinery were central factors in the 'wealth and power' that Nakai portrayed in 1867.

There was, of course, an important degree of input from other treaty powers in introducing western technology to Japan. In addition to the long-standing Dutch influence on gunnery, these included the French arsenal and shipyards at Yokosuka opened with permission from the *bakufu*, and it was the Great Northern Telegraph Company, a corporation based in Denmark, that completed the first telegraph link to the continent with the underground cable between Nagasaki and Shanghai in 1871.<sup>31</sup> Nevertheless, there was a distinct perception of British 'progress' among Japanese travellers in the 1860s, an impression that was reinforced even before their arrival in Europe, at ports of call during their

long voyage from Japan. This was to be an important factor in precipitating the Victorian technological impact on early Meiji Japan when the first railways, telegraph lines, modern lighthouses and the Imperial mint would all be constructed under the supervision of British engineers.

#### Overseas travellers' discovery of Victorian custom and society

In addition to the mechanical wonders of the mid-nineteenth century they encountered in Hong Kong or Suez, the voyage to Europe also gave Japanese travellers an opportunity to observe Victorian social customs at first hand. For some this opportunity was limited. Illegal travellers like Itō Hirobumi, Inoue Kaoru, Nomura Fumio and Nire Kagenori spent the entire voyage on board merchant ships in the company of the crew alone. The members of the 1862 *bakufu* mission also had a comparatively confined experience on their specially chartered troopship. Most travellers, however, made their voyage on passenger ships, and were able to record how European people around them interacted in daily life.

The voyage could provide an insight into the treatment and status of women in European society that, in the early and mid 1860s, was still unobtainable in the treaty ports. There were not yet many women among the Europeans and Americans in Yokohama and Nagasaki, and for most *samurai*, there were few chances of talking with the western ladies there. Travellers like Kawaji on a passenger ship bound for Hong Kong in 1866, however, had ample opportunity to observe the European tradition of chivalry in practice. It seemed to him that 'the ladies on this ship possess great authority and assume an air of importance equivalent to that of an imperial princess in our land'. He observed that it was 'British custom to pay inordinate respect to ladies; they take their seats before their husbands and sit in the best places at mealtimes as well'.<sup>1</sup> Later in the voyage, he concluded that, 'of all the countries in the West, Britain has the most pronounced custom of paying respect to ladies. From what I have seen on this ship, it seems that, when talking to a lady, you take off your hat and treat her most politely. This is the reverse of the ranking in our country, and I find it most astonishing'.<sup>2</sup> Nakai was perhaps speaking from personal experience when, during his journey across the Indian Ocean, he warned that 'it is best to steer clear of the ladies on deck. They care not for light chatter

and even prohibit smoking in their presence'.<sup>3</sup> Just as Nomura Fumio had been dissatisfied with the answers on the subject of chivalry he had received in Aberdeen, Kawaji was disappointed to learn that 'this is an old custom, and there is no particular explanation for it'. He was, nevertheless, impressed by the fact that 'the practice of holding ladies in such respect enables them to travel thousands of miles overseas on their own without coming to any harm'.<sup>4</sup>

Unfamiliar gestures exchanged between European men, women and children were another source of curiosity. In Hong Kong, Fuchinabe noticed how 'many of the couples were walking hand in hand'. Although his diary was not published, it was clearly revised at some stage, for he wrote that 'it was the first time I had seen this, but when I later arrived in Europe, I found it to be the custom everywhere'.<sup>5</sup> The sight of Europeans making their farewells before the ship left harbour also interested Japanese travellers. In Singapore, Fuchinabe noticed that 'most of the passengers who have travelled with us thus far have disappeared, and a number of others travelling home to Europe have come aboard here in their place. They were seen off by people staying in Singapore who came on board to say goodbye. Lamenting their farewell, they shook hands and parted; many of them were in tears falling like rain, and even though I saw it all from one side, I was even moved to tears myself'.<sup>6</sup> Three years later, Matsumura was watching a Dutch family somewhat closer in Singapore when he confessed that 'the sight of their emotions on parting was hard to bear. As the time came for them to take leave of each other, the husband pressed a kiss on his wife's lips before separating. Standing right next to them as I was, their suffering was painful to behold. Moreover, not content with the one embrace, their lips met again and again until, presently, the time came for the ship to leave. They seemed quite oblivious to the hundreds of people who were there to see off other passengers bound for India and Europe'. Matsumura pondered the significance of his keen observations. 'I was greatly astonished', he reported, 'never having seen the like of this before in my life, though I am told that kissing loved ones goodbye on the lips is considered to be perfectly good manners'.<sup>7</sup>

Other social traits were noticed during the long voyage. Fuchinabe noted one day that 'the ship is becalmed. I have been painting pictures on fans in response



to the demand from other passengers. The western men all received them with pleasure saying they will send them to their wives, for they do not carry fans themselves'.<sup>8</sup> As his ship left Singapore, Nakai was struck by the way in which a British mother forced her five-year-old daughter to apologise directly to an Indian passenger after she had thrown his hat into the sea. 'The girl stood in front of the Indian man in tears and begged his forgiveness', he wrote. 'The mischief of children differs in no way from that in our country, but the severity of the punishment was extreme'.<sup>9</sup>

The music that travellers discovered during the voyage was also a novelty. The only western music yet to have reached Japan was the military march played on bugles and drums that was just beginning to be adopted by the *bakufu* and some *han* to regiment their troops. While some Japanese travellers reacted enthusiastically to the orchestras and bands they heard, others found their sound lay beyond the boundaries of what they considered to be cultured music. In Hong Kong in 1862, Ichikawa related sceptically that, 'at eight o'clock this evening, I accompanied the envoys on a visit to the garrison where we saw a barbarian dance. For musical instruments there were flutes, hand drums and bells. In the dance several couples of men and women appeared, separating and gathering, going forwards and backwards slowly and quickly. They simply went round and round to the quickening rhythm. There was no singing at all. The music all sounded the same to our ears, and too savage to bear'. He noted almost disparagingly that 'all western countries have this'.<sup>10</sup> Ichikawa was never receptive to the art and music he saw during his travels in Europe. On board a French ship at the start of the voyage home he later observed that, 'this evening, there was again some dancing, though on what basis such childish play is carried out I cannot comprehend'.<sup>11</sup> At the Langham Hotel in London three years later, Shibata Takenaka and his *bakufu* party narrowly escaped being involved in such revelry. 'As it is Christmas', wrote Shibata, 'we watched the servants and maids dancing at the hotel, and although Brine (the guide) repeatedly urged us to join in, we all refused'.<sup>12</sup>

Ichikawa's reluctance to enjoy such entertainment, however, was certainly not representative of Japanese travellers as a whole. On board a passenger ship in Shanghai, for example, Fuchinabe noted one evening that 'black servants were

playing barbarian music with a Chinese fiddle, drums, and long and short flutes, and with such a quick succession of melodies that it made anyone listening want to dance'.<sup>13</sup> Unlike Ichikawa, he at least recognised some motive behind these antics for, as his ship left Penang, he noted that, every night, 'after nightfall, music is played on deck to which all the men and women dance together. This is to soothe the weary heart of the traveller as this is such a long voyage'.<sup>14</sup> Matsumura also sensed the comforting powers of western entertainment in 1865 when he wrote that 'there are five or six musicians on this passenger ship who every night console the travellers on board with their music'.<sup>15</sup>

The sound of a piano was also novel to the ear of a Japanese traveller. After visiting the mint in Hong Kong in early 1867, Sano recalled that 'the master called a proficient pianist to come along and play for us and a feast was laid out'. The scientific Sano who had made copious notes on minting machinery made no comment on the music. Having shown indifference to the mint, however, Nonaka Motoemon was moved by this entertainment to describe the piano in verse:

'The notes plucked on a *koto* of 85 strings  
play too on the strings of the heart.'<sup>16</sup>

Dramatic shows also featured on board passenger ships during the long voyage. In early 1867, Kikuchi noted a sign announcing some evening entertainment 'performed under the permission of Captain White and patronage of ladies' and recorded how, 'at night, the passengers joined together with the ship's officers to make a play which was most like our farce in Japan'.<sup>17</sup> After he and the group of *bakufu* students arrived in London, they were shown a much grander display of Victorian drama at a West End theatre. Kawaji, the head of the party, described how, 'after a while, a group of several dozen musicians began to play, the curtain was raised and the play began. The drama was in a form most difficult to understand, and lacking in interest to anyone who did not know the original story, so I found it all simply a matter of trying to keep my eyes open. Nevertheless, it was truly astonishing to behold the dancing, make up and the quick changes of costume, and to see the portrayal of scenery, with clouds and mist descending and lifting, the sun and the moon rising and setting, waves rolling, and daytime differentiated from night, all achieved through the use of machinery'.<sup>18</sup>

While Japanese travellers were watching the behaviour of Europeans around them, they were already being forced to adapt to the customs they observed on the ship and at hotels in ports of call. Mishaps were not uncommon, as they were faced with unfamiliar food and etiquette at the dinner table, and were unused to the organisation of hotel rooms with gas lighting and bathrooms with plumbing. Their own Japanese customs and dress also made them objects of curiosity in the eyes of fellow passengers. Unlike Europeans grouped together in treaty ports, many Japanese overseas felt isolated and compelled to make efforts to appear less conspicuous. Quite apart from detached observations of technology and society, therefore, the most immediate culture shock travellers experienced on the way to Europe lay in their own struggles to adapt and come to terms with the new lifestyle around them.

One frequently recorded experience was a sense of dismay at the cost of living. Due to unfavourable exchange rates, sizeable sums in Japanese terms could be frittered away on everyday essential items in Hong Kong, Singapore and even more so in Europe itself. Prices of articles purchased in ports of call were often carefully entered in travellers' diaries. As far as Singapore or Penang, these were bought with the Mexican dollars then prevalent in Eastern Asia, but as Kawaji noted after changing money into English pounds at Galle, 'from here onwards dollars are hardly used at all'.<sup>19</sup>

The expense of foreign travel was sometimes first encountered at the toll bridge in Shanghai. Nire reported in 1866 how 'a British guard told us to pay a toll for crossing the bridge, and even though we told him we had not one *zeni*<sup>a</sup> between us, he was unmoved and refused to let us pass'.<sup>20</sup> They eventually had to part with their watches as tokens of good faith. Later that year, Kawaji also noted that 'there was a toll gate at the entrance to the bridge and we had to pay the astonishingly high sum of 25 cents just to cross'.<sup>21</sup>

Some travellers discovered the uncomfortably high prices outside Japan when they tried to have a bath. Fuchinabe noted in Hong Kong that 'in this hotel it costs one dollar for a hot bath and half a dollar for a cold bath. If this is anything to judge by, the cost of living is astonishingly high'.<sup>22</sup> Yamanouchi Sakuzaemon, a *bakufu* student on the way to Russia in 1865, noted that baths cost

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two shillings in Capetown, and half that amount in Plymouth.<sup>23</sup> Shortly after arriving in Aberdeen, Nomura recorded that 'the three of us went to have a bath which cost us one shilling. The price of tobacco and tea in this town are most expensive. It costs six pence for one cigar and tea is drunk in the morning and evening with water at lunchtime'.<sup>24</sup>

Hotel bills were on a different scale altogether. As director of the group of *bakufu* students bound for Britain, Kawaji Tarō was soon appraised of accommodation charges overseas: 'the bill at the hotel in Singapore was 122 dollars for the fourteen of us, a sum so high as to make it difficult to compare with board and lodging at the most exclusive hostels on the *Tōkaidō* highway. I am astonished at such high prices, and can only wonder what it will be like in Europe'.<sup>25</sup> In London, there was a wide range of hotel charges. At the Kensington Hotel in 1865, Matsumura noted that 'it costs one pound a night to stay here (one pound being the equivalent of two *ryō* one *bu*)'.<sup>26</sup> Later that year, Shibata noted that the Langham Hotel cost six pounds and eleven shillings per night.<sup>27</sup>

As anticipated, Kawaji found prices in London distressingly high. After a six-day stay, he announced that 'today our hotel bill was settled. Looking at it, I saw that it cost the fourteen of us £84 (one pound is three *ryō* three *bu*). The daily food has not even been especially delicious, consisting simply of the everyday diet common in Britain, so we are being driven towards a quite frugal lifestyle'. He began to view the cost of living in Japan in quite a different light, admitting that 'I have discovered only now how cheap are all manner of goods in Edo. Here in London, whenever I ask for goods I find them to be wildly expensive, and so dear that, after calculating them, they compare closely in price with the goods to be found in a Chinese ware shop in Edo. Furthermore, some western goods on sale in Edo are even cheaper than those here. This is truly unexpected. The only exception is the cost of books which sell for a third of the price of those in Yokohama and Edo'.<sup>28</sup> Kawaji had not yet been to any other European country, and was perhaps unaware that book prices in London were higher than on the continent. Terashima Munenori had noted in 1862 that books in France were half the price and thought that, apart from this one drawback, Britain was the ideal place for overseas students.<sup>29</sup>

One aspect of the European financial world experienced by some unfortunate Japanese travellers was the workings of travel insurance. Three of the *bakufu* students on their way to Britain in early 1867 had clothing and money stolen from their cases when they were sent on separately from Suez to Alexandria. Kawaji had suspected the potential danger as soon as he arrived in Suez, noting that 'there are a surprising number of thieves in this place and no risks can be taken so I carried my hand luggage and my blanket to the hotel myself'.<sup>30</sup> The matter was settled by their guide, the Rev W. V. Lloyd, who made each student evaluate each missing article in Japanese currency, and calculated the total sum in sterling at a rate of three *ryō* to the pound before billing the Pasha with a compensation claim for 123 pounds and nine shillings to be paid in Britain on their arrival.<sup>31</sup> The resulting sum of 370 *ryō* seemed a vast amount to Kawaji, and gave him fresh insight into the alarming sums of money demanded by Europeans in recent years following attacks on foreigners in Edo and the treaty ports. Lloyd's efforts on their behalf reminded him of 'the unlimited greed shown by British and French when they come to Japan and make out their various compensation claims there. The principle, however, is quite just, and as we have every right on our side, we too can claim as large a sum as we wish'.<sup>32</sup>

Hotels in ports of call on the way to Europe differed from hostels in Japan in a number of ways, and these were sometimes considered novel enough to merit detailed descriptions in travellers' diaries. At the Commercial Hotel in Hong Kong, for example, Ichikawa noted the contents of his room from the mirror, soap and basin to the bed fitted with two blankets and a mosquito net, pointing out that 'all the rooms are fitted with doorkeys'.<sup>33</sup> The grand scale and physical layout of some hotel interiors caused a certain amount of disorientation. During his stay at the Kensington Hotel, Matsumura noted with some relief that 'I eventually managed to find my room on the seventh floor by looking for the number twelve indicated on the door'.<sup>34</sup> At his London hotel, Kawaji complained that 'there are corridors up, down and across, and I am frequently losing my way'.<sup>35</sup> His confusion was compounded by a contraption called a lift. 'Another curiosity is a little room on one side of the dining room large enough for three or four people to enter at one time. On the command to a servant, this rises of its own accord and, before you know it, it arrives

on the fourth floor',<sup>36</sup>

Whether in ships or in hotels, one of the greatest difficulties Japanese travellers had in adapting to European lifestyle was encountered in the bathroom, and the circumstances of an ocean voyage did not often allow for an easy transition. On the way to Hong Kong, Kawaji was among the more fortunate in that his party was travelling on a passenger ship fully equipped with washing facilities. He was discouraged, however, by the lack of hot water, confessing that 'I thought I must certainly catch cold if I got in, so I just washed my hands and feet'.<sup>37</sup> This experience was nevertheless luxurious compared with that of travellers on the more spartan merchant ships. On the *Chanticleer* in 1865, Nomura complained that 'the three of us are increasingly looking like inmates in a prison', and recorded that 'I wish for nothing more than simply to be able to have a bath, tie my *chonmage* and change clothes'.<sup>38</sup> His wish was finally granted in Aberdeen when they 'went to a public baths which was arranged quite differently to those in Japan. This was the first time we had bathed in warm water for over a hundred days and it felt wonderful'.<sup>39</sup>

Nire Kagenori, staying in room No. 240 of the Grant Hotel in London later that year, described the arrangement of hot and cold taps and the plug, and pointed out that, 'in Britain, all the water is thrown away after each bath, and they are horrified at the thought of two people sharing the same bathwater'.<sup>40</sup> Nomura had to wait until he required medical treatment before he found a bath akin to the kind he was used to in Japan. He developed sore legs from walking on the stone pavements of Aberdeen, a complaint he thought might explain the local gentry's preference for travelling on horseback, and found his way to the 'Hydropathic Establishment and Turkish Bath' at Lochhead on the outskirts of the city. To his delight, here there were 'most beautiful baths' which were 'reminiscent of the hot springs, stone baths and lake baths in Japan'.<sup>41</sup>

The question of how early overseas Japanese travellers reacted to European food and the British diet in particular can only be answered by looking at diary entries recorded during the long voyage. By the time they arrived in Britain, many of them had grown so accustomed to the food served since their departure that the subject rarely merited attention in their daily journals. The problems

involved in adapting to a new diet, however, were often much in evidence during the first few weeks after leaving Japan.

The ability of travellers to adapt often depended on whether or not they had any experience of western food prior to their departure from Japan. While this was mostly minimal, especially in the early 1860s, scholars of western studies in particular may have had access to some foreign foods in the treaty ports. Alexander von Siebold, for example, related how amazed he was to find officers of the *Hizen han* in Nagasaki heartily eating rancid butter sandwiches which he found quite inedible.<sup>42</sup> Enthusiasm for their subject may have played a part in this taste for European food, but this alone was not enough to survive the food on ocean-going ships. An aspiring scholar of English like Nomura Fumio, for example, had spent a year studying in Nagasaki but, five days into the voyage, he complained that 'I have grown tired of the oily food we have been eating ever since we boarded the ship'. He admitted that, 'usually I like this food, but now I have begun to detest it'. His travelling companions, Ishimaru and Mawatari, meanwhile, had already spent a decade in Nagasaki, and Nomura added that 'the other two are eating heartily'.<sup>43</sup>

Later in the voyage, Nomura recalled that 'we knew from the start that the standard fare on merchant ships is beef and pork and so we were prepared'. He was less prepared for the style of presentation however. 'Although good quality, the salted pork does not agree with our stomachs' he complained, 'because it is cooked in chunks and not in thin slices as in Japan'. By now, the spirits of all three travellers were much reduced, and Nomura observed that 'our only food is bread and rice sprinkled with sugar'.<sup>44</sup> The Satsuma students had a similar experience a few months earlier, and Matsumura had observed only days after leaving Japan that 'the only food with any taste at all are bitter oranges and rice, and the pork and beef are quite foul'.<sup>45</sup> Towards the end of their voyage, the *bakufu* students on their way to Russia found that the only food left was salted meat, and Yamanouchi Sakuzemon noticed somewhat cynically that, after a few days of eating nothing else, 'I was finally able to recognise some taste in it'.<sup>46</sup>

Passenger ships provided a more gentle introduction to the world of cuisine

outside Japan. Within two days of his departure from Nagasaki in 1866, Nakai Hiroshi boldly declared that, 'if anything, I find western food and drink more suited to my tastes'.<sup>47</sup> The fare served on board soon lost its novelty, however, even for keen students of western studies. Kawaji noted that, 'until now, I have been most fond of western food, but this taste of meat and smell of fat three times a day is a little more than I can bear'. As thoughts turned to more familiar cooking, Kawaji wrote wistfully that 'I have tired somewhat of beef and mutton day in and day out, and find myself dreaming frequently of food with tastes like pickled radish, and the *tōfu* in soup that we have in Japan'.<sup>48</sup>

Nakai, however, retained his favourable impression of western food, and during the passage across the Indian Ocean, described in detail the daily régime on board a P & O passenger ship. This illustrates the disparity between his experience and that of travellers on merchant vessels sailing around the Cape of Good Hope. Between seven and eight o'clock in the morning, he recorded, the cook would bring coffee and bread to his cabin. He would then get up, wash his hands and feet and change before taking a walk on deck. When the bell rang at nine, everyone assembled for breakfast. When the bell rang for lunch at twelve he went to his table and ate one or two pieces of meat before going back on deck or resting in his room. A bell at four o'clock told him it was time to change, comb his hair and wait for the dinner bell at five. The dinner table would be most beautifully laid out; a bowl of warm soup would be followed by beef, lamb, chicken, duck, rabbit, or some wild game obtained at ports en route. These were served with vegetables like potatoes, beans, radishes and carrots, and followed by cake, fruits and Chinese tea served with milk and white sugar. More tea and cakes followed at seven o'clock in the evening, and finally wine was served at eight.<sup>49</sup>

The 1862 *bakufu* mission attempted to postpone their encounter with western cuisine altogether during their voyage on the troopship *HMS Odin*. In America two years before, the *bakufu* party had been disappointed by the inability of local cooks to prepare rice to their taste. Several members of the party bound for Europe secured their places in the role of cooks, but were not allowed into the kitchens of European hotels to perform their appointed tasks.<sup>50</sup> During the voyage too, they only had limited success for the iron tank on the ship turned



the water brown. As a result, Shibata had to close his eyes to eat his tea-coloured rice, and complained: 'I will never forget the suffering over the water'.<sup>51</sup> Alcock noted that the mission took 500 bottles of soy sauce, and Fukuchi Gen'ichirō later recalled that they also took a large quantity of *miso* thinking that it might keep if it was thoroughly kneaded. Between Hong Kong and Singapore, however, the smell of rancid *miso* became so unbearable that it was all thrown overboard.<sup>52</sup> Other largely superfluous luggage included fifty charcoal stoves and lanterns. Use of the stoves was prohibited during the voyage, and the lanterns turned out to serve little purpose in the gaslit hotels of Europe.<sup>53</sup>

Japanese travellers were tempted to search for opportunities of obtaining fish, whether raw or cooked. Barely a week after leaving Yokohama, three of the younger *bakufu* students bound for Britain were longing for *sashimi*. Kawaji observed that 'tomorrow we arrive in Shanghai, and they have been talking about perhaps buying some Chinese fish and eating it in Japanese style'.<sup>54</sup> Nakai described how, after arriving in Singapore, he and Yūki<sup>a</sup> 'went to a fishmongers where we bought some salted fish before returning to the ship'. He explained that, 'recently we have had only meat and we were dying for some fish so we asked the cook to prepare it for us. We ate it just before dinner and very delicious it was too'.<sup>55</sup> Those on the 1862 *bakufu* mission suffered no dearth of fish as the food on *HMS Odin* was prepared specifically for them, and the menus recorded in Nozawa's diary reveal that they were often served fish in British hotels. Shibata Takenaka, however, was unimpressed: 'there was nothing which was to our taste', he complained, 'much of it was meat, and although there was fish, this too was fried in oil and there was little in the way of vegetables'. He also related how, during their stay in France, they adopted the habit of cutting raw fish and eating it as *sashimi* with the soy sauce they had brought with them. They apparently abandoned the practice when a British newspaper compared their partiality for raw fish with the diet of natives in South America.<sup>56</sup>

In spite of the hardships involved in changing their eating habits, Japanese travellers often discovered some pleasant and novel tastes during their journey. Kawaji was so impressed by Bengalese rice that he declared: 'I am sure that if I

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were to take some of this delicious rice back to Edo, the people in town who did not know it came from overseas would heap praise on it and swear that it came from Higo'.<sup>57</sup> Takashima was less enamoured of the rice he was served in Egypt which was so oily that he 'could not bear to eat it'.<sup>58</sup> A number of fruits were discovered on the journey, and pineapples were often mentioned in travellers' diaries. On passenger ships, ice cream sometimes appeared on the menu. As the ship headed south from Hong Kong in April 1865, for example, Matsumura recorded that 'at dinnertime today we ate ice cream, for it gets hotter in these parts earlier than in Japan, and it is already like our midsummer'.<sup>59</sup> Ices were not entirely unknown in Japan, for every year, the Kaga *han* presented the *shōgun* with a gift of edible ice, specially prepared and frozen during the winter. The idea of eating ice in such heat, however, appeared miraculous to the Japanese traveller, and when Hatakeyama saw it being produced in Suez, he commented that 'what is most remarkable is that the ice is made from purified water taken originally from sea water, and yet it is identical in every way to the natural ice of winter'.<sup>60</sup> In London in the summer of 1862, Fuchinabe recorded that 'ice is served everyday, containing sugar and milk and presented in various shapes. It tastes delicious and is so cold it pierces the tongue'.<sup>61</sup> A penchant for exotic tastes could reach extravagant proportions, however, and when Takenouchi and his entourage visited St Petersburg in 1862, 'their appetite for pâté de fois gras and champagne was extraordinary and the expense of their entertainment enormous'.<sup>62</sup>

Quite apart from their enforced change of diet, early travellers on their way to Europe sometimes felt considerable pressure to change their mode of dress. This was not so much related to differences in climate as to the attitudes of Europeans around them for whom even everyday Japanese attire was the object of intense curiosity. This could range from genuine admiration on the sight of a Japanese sword to simple derision at what, to European eyes, was the laughable appearance of a *samurai* hairstyle. Such reactions introduced travellers to an outside perspective of daily customs they had previously taken for granted, forcing them to re-appraise their own cultural self-awareness as *samurai* in Tokugawa Japan.

For those on the first *bakufu* missions, the idea of changing dress to

accommodate the views of Europeans and Americans was considered unthinkable on diplomatic grounds. As official representatives, participants were required to take an oath to preserve a purely Japanese style of appearance during their travels. In 1862, for example, one member of the *bakufu* party received a warning, and was nearly sent straight back to Japan, after he was seen buying western shoes in Hong Kong.<sup>63</sup> A comparable though more extreme attitude was present in the first Chinese embassy to Britain in 1876 when Kuo Sung-t'ao, the newly-appointed resident minister, was accused of sullying Chinese honour when he allowed 'the governor of Malta to cover his mandarin robes with his raincoat during a sudden shower'.<sup>64</sup>

On special occasions, travellers wore even more conspicuous clothing than usual. Nomura recorded how on New Years Day 1866, 'Ishimaru and Mawatari both put on ceremonial dress at eleven o'clock'. In the confined environment of a merchant ship at sea, this could not escape the notice of the British crew who 'thought they looked most odd and could not help giggling'.<sup>65</sup> Few travellers, however, faced the degree of scrutiny experienced by the *bakufu* students shortly after their arrival in London. Kawaji recounted how, 'wearing our *hakama* and *haori*<sup>a</sup> (mine was a small *hakama* adorned all over with our family crest), we all went with Lloyd at six o'clock this evening to see a play at a place called the Royal Theatre'. The presence of Queen Victoria ensured a full house and he noted that 'there were as many as three thousand people in the audience. As Japanese people are most rare in this city, people in the audience frequently looked in our direction, and even observed us through their pince-nez'.<sup>66</sup>

In contrast to those on short-term diplomatic missions, students sent overseas to Europe soon found the curiosity which their attire attracted to be too much to bear on an everyday basis. Although under oath to retain Japanese dress, the *bakufu* students who reached Holland in 1863 were so enveloped by crowds that they soon adopted a Dutch recommendation to change to western clothes. The only exception was Uchida Masao<sup>b</sup> who, as director of the expedition, felt unable to break his oath and took to wearing what he thought might be less conspicuous Japanese clothing. He eventually admitted defeat when even this failed to diminish the curiosity of Dutch passers by.<sup>67</sup>

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In contrast to *bakufu* representatives, illegal travellers, the *mikkōsha*, felt less compunction about abandoning Japanese dress. The five Chōshū officers who left for Britain in 1863 are thought to have changed clothes in Yokohama before their departure.<sup>68</sup> The diaries of Matsumura Junzō and Hatakeyama Yoshinari graphically reveal how essential the 1865 Satsuma party felt it was to change out of their Japanese clothes on arriving at their first port of call in Hong Kong. For seventeen of the nineteen Japanese on board, this was the first overseas town they had ever seen, and they were naturally inclined to explore as soon as possible. They nevertheless remained on board for a full three days before disembarking, as they would not risk a trip to the town until their newly ordered western clothes had been delivered. On their first day in port, Hatakeyama recorded how Ryle Holme, their British guide, 'went ashore this morning to organise the procurement of foreign clothes for us' and Matsumura noted on the same day that 'we will stay on the ship until our foreign clothes are ready'.<sup>69</sup> The following day, Hatakeyama reported that, 'as today is Sunday, our foreign clothes were not ready and we did not go ashore'. The next day he wrote: 'our foreign clothes are still not ready and we were again unable to go ashore'. At last on the third day, he was able to record that 'today our hats, clothes and shoes were all ready, and so after eight o'clock we went ashore and saw all there was to see'.<sup>70</sup>

The Satsuma students' new suits proved to be only a temporary measure for the duration of the voyage and were unsuited to the demands of fashion in London. New suits were ordered shortly after their arrival there, and Hatakeyama noted how 'three tailors arrived and took all our measurements in detail'. Again, this caused a delay in their investigations, and the following day he recorded that 'our clothes are not yet ready so we were unable to go outside and did nothing other than our translation studies'.<sup>71</sup> The transformation was much swifter in the case of Nomura, Ishimaru and Mawatari when, a few months later, they stepped ashore in Aberdeen and, wearing full *samurai* dress, made the short walk up the hill to the Glover Brothers' office in Marischal Street. According to Nomura, James Glover then disappeared briefly, returning to say that 'we should change into British clothes and, knowing we had arrived unprepared, he had told a tailor to come along with some samples for us to try on. On Glover's word, he divided these among the three of us so that we ended up completely

fitted from trousers, jackets and shorts to hats as well'.<sup>72</sup>

In addition to their Japanese clothes, Europeans also showed much interest in the two swords that *samurai* habitually wore, and often appeared intrigued by their shaven heads and *chonmage* topknots. In Japanese society, these were instantly recognisable symbols of their authority and high status, but the curiosity they attracted from Europeans around them often made *samurai* travellers abroad feel uncomfortably conspicuous. One solution was not to carry swords at all. In 1865, for example, the Satsuma students were ordered by their leaders to hand in their weapons as soon as they boarded their ship off the coast of Kyūshū. Matsumura wrote with a sense of loss that 'both my swords have been shut up in a box and from this day forth I am swordless'.<sup>73</sup>

Many *samurai* travellers in the 1860s, however, still took their distinctive swords with them. Kawaji noticed in Hong Kong that 'Japanese people are rare here and our swords and clothes are the subject of close attention'. A British official wanted to see his sword, and Kawaji observed that 'it caused great delight when I drew it from its hilt, and was treated as something most precious'.<sup>74</sup> Nakai discovered a similar reaction on board his ship on the Indian Ocean, commenting that 'there are many British people who have never seen a Japanese sword, and they sometimes pass by hoping to catch a glimpse'.<sup>75</sup> The day after he arrived in London, Nomura roamed the streets in Japanese dress, and noted that 'every time I stopped by the roadside for a smoke, people gathered around in a crowd, and showed particular interest in my swords'.<sup>76</sup> As with their clothes, Japanese travellers in Britain soon discovered that they attracted less attention if they left such conspicuous weapons behind when they went out.

While Japanese swords may have been curiosities in the eyes of British observers, they were not simply decorative in the minds of *samurai*, and there were occasions during their travels when they were nearly drawn in anger. When the 1862 *bakufu* mission arrived in Singapore on board *HMS Odin*, for example, there were rumours of imminent war between Britain and the United States. 'When we entered the harbour', wrote Takashima, 'there was fortunately not a single warship to be seen', and he described how 'the captain was delighted and shook

our hands, and all our weapons were put away'.<sup>77</sup> In 1865, Nomura, Ishimaru and Mawatari nearly encountered pirates as their merchant ship passed through the notoriously dangerous Bangka straits off the coast of Sumatra. According to Nomura, the officers 'hailed out the cannon and began preparing the gunpowder. Moreover, one of them warned us that we should be prepared to use our swords'.<sup>78</sup> In spite of their vigilance, no adversaries materialised.

Of all Japanese traits in outward appearance, it was perhaps the *samurai* hairstyle of shaven heads and *chonmage* that received the most consistently negative attention from European observers. According to one report, shortly after arriving in Holland in 1863, two *bakufu* students, Uchida Masao and Enomoto Takeaki, sought to save themselves from ridicule by wearing hats. During a performance at the theatre one evening, however, they were asked to remove them, thus causing such unrestrained laughter throughout the auditorium that the incident was reported in a newspaper the following morning under the headline 'Two Japanese Stop Play'.<sup>79</sup>

Although those on *bakufu* missions were required to wear Japanese dress throughout their travels, Ikeda Nagaaki, head of the 1864 mission to France took the unprecedented step of ordering the entire party to don French hats.<sup>80</sup> Illegal travellers on the way to Europe for long-term study, however, soon found a more permanent solution. Just one day after leaving Japan in 1865, most of the Satsuma students were already convinced of the futility of retaining their *samurai* appearance, and Hatakeyama recorded that, 'after eight o'clock, we cut our hair in western style'.<sup>81</sup> Three days later, Matsumura was also persuaded, recording that 'today I cut my hair and adopted the foreign style'.<sup>82</sup> It was not until the day of their arrival in Aberdeen that Nomura's party was faced with the same decision. The matter was raised by Fraser, their new tutor, shortly after they had changed into western clothes. According to Nomura, 'after lunch, we discussed cutting our hair in British fashion and eventually decided that this would be the best thing to do. Ishimaru went with Fraser to the barber shop, and when they arrived back we all finally had our hair cut'. Nomura also recorded his own reaction to the loss of this long-tended symbol of *samurai* identity, and even wrote a poem, for him a rare gesture, to commemorate the event. 'Although I was inclined to a certain reluctance beforehand', he

explained, 'I felt such a sense of thrill when my hair was cut that I will write a verse about it elsewhere'.<sup>83</sup> The verse itself is sadly untraced, but the episode shows that, for a scholar of western studies like Nomura as well, casting off the accepted outward appearance of the *samurai* in Tokugawa society was not a step to be taken casually.

Such an experience was still rare, but with the onset of passport travel in 1866, the tendency to adopt western hairstyles increasingly became the norm. The party of *bakufu* students on their way to Britain in late 1866 felt that enough precedent had already been set to allow them to follow suit. The list of 'personal expenses of students' made out by Lloyd reveals that 140 dollars, or ten dollars each, was spent on haircuts in Shanghai on 5 December.<sup>84</sup> A group photograph taken of the students there clearly shows the results and the fact that Lloyd sent this photograph to the *bakufu* authorities in Edo suggests that official attitudes to *samurai* dress overseas had already softened considerably.

The efforts made by early travellers to appear less conspicuous seem to have been largely successful. All the recorded incidents of large crowds turning out specifically to observe Japanese arrivals in the 1860s are confined to those travellers still wearing full *samurai* dress. Perhaps the most overwhelming receptions were those reserved for the first *bakufu* missions to America in 1860 and Europe two years later. Large crowds greeted the Takenouchi mission wherever they went in Europe. In Paris, for example, Ichikawa noted one day that 'the park was full of people, old and young, men and women, all hoping to catch sight of the Japanese visitors', and added that 'I cannot say how many thousands there were'.<sup>85</sup> One *bakufu* student even claimed the following year that several tens of thousands of people had turned out to greet them on the wharf in Rotterdam.<sup>86</sup>

The 1862 *bakufu* mission's arrival in Britain was also a well-attended event. As they disembarked at Dover, Ichikawa was concerned to find that 'we were in danger of treading on their toes, there were so many people there'. Christopher Hodgson, the recently retired consul in Hakodate 'threw his hat in the air and raised his arms shouting 'hip hip hurray' at the top of his voice, (I do not know what this means, but it is probably some expression of congratulations),

and the crowd shouted as one in reply'.<sup>87</sup> When the *bakufu* mission arrived in London by train later that day, they alighted not at Victoria but at the Bricklayers Arms, a station normally used only for freight, and Miyanaga Takashi has suggested that this diversion was planned deliberately to avoid the crowds.<sup>88</sup>

There are no records to suggest that the students from Chōshū and Satsuma were met by large crowds when they arrived in Britain in 1863 and 1865 respectively. Both parties had changed to western clothes by this stage, as had the *bakufu* students in 1867 who, as we have seen, only attracted great attention when they dressed up for the theatre. It is interesting, therefore to note the attention paid to Nomura, Ishimaru and Mawatari when they arrived in London in full *samurai* dress early in 1866. Nomura noted a newspaper article which had reported that 'three Japanese have arrived at St Katharines Dock in a sailing ship and tomorrow they are bound for Scotland'. In his diary the next day, he added that 'the article in the newspaper yesterday announcing the arrival of some Japanese appears to have circulated widely, for when we went up on deck this morning a crowd had gathered on all sides on the wharf to see us'.<sup>89</sup>

The greatest shocks of cultural adaptation were thus most concentrated during the long voyage from Japan and on arrival. Some travellers on short-term diplomatic missions never had the time or inclination to adapt but, having endured these trials thus far, Japanese students at the start of a long-term stay in Victorian Britain would already have become inured to a number of the most obvious difficulties involved in living overseas. Having survived European hotels, baths, cuisine and prices, and the curiosity they aroused among other passengers and local populations on the way, they would already have surpassed by far the experience of scholars of western studies in Japan who relied on books alone.

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The diaries of overseas travellers on their way to Europe between 1862 and 1868 reveal their experiences on first encountering Victorian technology and society on ocean-going ships and in ports of call. In their wealth of factual detail,



they show the keen sense of mission felt by men consciously in pursuit of precious information. They represent, however, a short-lived form of expression because, by the onset of the 1870s, many of the features of the European world they described with such a sense of novelty and discovery were already becoming available to readers in Japan in printed *tansaku* works. This rapidly accumulating collective knowledge of conditions in the West also contributed to the surprising scarcity of travel diaries in the 1870s relative to the increased numbers of Japanese to be found abroad.

The impact of *tansaku* scholarship is certainly apparent in the evolving style of overseas diaries during these years. Many still included literary features which can be traced to the long-standing tradition of diaries and travel journals in Japan, with attempts to capture fleeting moments in verse still much in evidence. Nevertheless, there was an increasing tendency among overseas travellers to try and quantify the new sights before them with statistical descriptions of towns, cities, factories, weapons and machinery. Stylistically, some diaries took on a hybrid form containing elements of both the literary diary tradition and the heightened concern for numerical precision. While writers struggled to convey the speed of technological wonders such as steam trains and the telegraph with imaginative similes, they took care to measure and record their dimensions and technical capabilities.

Early travellers also reflected in their diaries on the thought-provoking trials imposed by the unfamiliar constraints of Victorian society, and by the Victorians themselves. The pressures of cultural adaptation, for example, were a recurrent theme in many travel journals. This was particularly the case for students embarking on long-term courses of studies overseas who were required to live in this alien environment. Some of their diaries clearly relate a voyage of cultural discovery, revealing a heightened self-awareness as they were both forced and enabled to psychologically distance themselves from their accustomed social roles. Examples include the journals of Hatakeyama Yoshinari and Matsumura Junzō, who felt unable to tread foreign soil in Japanese dress, and Nomura Fumio, who laid his *samurai* hairstyle to rest with a verse. On their arrival in Britain, therefore, there were some who felt as if they had already travelled much further than simply halfway around the globe from Tokugawa Japan.

Whether written by progressive scholars of western studies, aspirant poets or intransigent supporters of the *jōi* movement, these diaries often exhibit closely comparable reactions to the latest examples of European technology and the state of affairs in ports in Asia. These common features can be thought of as essentially Japanese perspectives among the ruling *samurai* class in the last years of the Edo period. After witnessing the instability of the Chinese world in Shanghai and Hong Kong, some travellers expressed apprehension over Japan's ability to resist further encroachment by the foreign powers. There was a gradual process of awakening to the determining forces in international relations, most clearly reflected in the reluctant admiration reserved for British military and commercial influence in Asia. This feature was particularly apparent in diaries kept by *jōi* supporters who found their preconceptions increasingly challenged by their own observations during the course of the voyage. As Godai Tomoatsu's letters from Malta indicate, having finally arrived in Europe, even the staunchest advocates of the *jōi* movement were unable to realistically sustain their opposition to western involvement in the future of Japan.

These journals reveal an overall shift in Japanese perspectives even within the short span of six years from 1862 to 1868. All diaries written after 1865 exhibit a certain receptivity to western influence that had featured only sporadically before, either by acknowledging the desirability of progress or by recognising the need for trade as a prerequisite of prosperity and national strength. This was articulated in terms such as the 'wealth and power' recorded in Nakai Hiroshi's diary, and the 'height of progress' described by Kawaji Tarō in 1867, both of which were direct references to Victorian Britain. While the growing prevalence of these attitudes partly reflected the impact of military confrontations with treaty powers at Kagoshima and Shimonoseki, conceptually they were a direct development from the tradition of *tansaku* research and the first overseas investigations of the early 1860s. During the early Meiji years, they became a motivating force behind the rapid increase in the numbers of Japanese overseas students, and the emergence in London of the largest concentration of Japanese students in the West.

#### Chapter Four: Japanese Observations and Activities in Britain

The experiences of Japanese travellers arriving in Britain during the 1860s and 1870s varied greatly according to the objectives and circumstances of their journey. Those on high-profile diplomatic missions often spent most of their time based in hotels, receiving official hospitality and close attention from journalists during their brief round of observation tours. Others who arrived as students for an extended stay often attracted less attention, even though their numbers escalated dramatically in the early Meiji years to the extent that they became a visible presence in some parts of London. Ranging from the very rich to the literally penniless, they all relied on the care of British individuals, and their experiences were greatly affected by the personalities of those who managed their affairs.

In contrast to the voyage from Japan, there are too few descriptive diaries recording developments following their arrival to allow us to reconstruct their experiences in Britain in much detail. Exceptions include journals of diplomatic missions which were often recorded throughout their stays. While students may have had time to keep a journal during their voyage, however, most of them were too busy adapting to their new life or trying to improve their English to maintain their diaries for long after their arrival. Furthermore, as the novelty of overseas travel began to wane, less effort was spent in recording details of their cultural encounters. Compared to the 1860s when travel journals were kept almost as a matter of course, surprisingly few diaries from the 1870s have so far come to light. In order to assess developments in Japanese views of both Victorian society and their own world during their stays in Britain, and to trace their diverse activities and movements during these years, we have to rely on a variety of Japanese documents ranging from later reminiscences to passports and other official records. English newspapers, letters and college registers can also reveal hitherto unknown aspects of their travels and studies.

As we have seen, travellers bound for Britain would already have encountered some revealing aspects of Victorian society during the passage from Asia. Their post-arrival impressions, however, marked a new departure in their experience

of Britain. The impact made by London was particularly noticeable. This was the principal destination of most travellers, whether arriving by P & O passenger ship via Southampton, from France via Dover, or from America via Liverpool. As the largest metropolitan centre in Britain and the administrative hub of an extensive colonial empire, the Victorian capital was a natural focus of interest. As a result, many Japanese travellers' perspectives of society in Britain were developed primarily through their experiences of life in London.

#### Arrival in England and impressions of London

Observing the south coast of England from his ship in September 1866, Nire Kagenori thought that 'the land looks exceedingly poor, and is all quite bare like the land in China'.<sup>1</sup> Vegetated less thickly than Japan, one member of the Takenouchi mission wrote in 1862: 'it is difficult to think of it as fertile land, for although it is already the first of May by the western calendar, the wheat is only just over one sun in height and cannot be said to be thriving'.<sup>2</sup> Others were more impressed, and on a train from Southampton to London on his first day in the country in 1865, Hatakeyama Yoshinari thought that 'the scenery of the plain was splendid'.<sup>3</sup> Okada Setsuzō perhaps added received information to his own observations later that year, and although he had been no farther than London, Portsmouth and Plymouth, he declared that 'Britain has the richest land in Europe. The aspect of the land is elegant and most pleasing to the eye. In the northwest there are many mountains with thick vegetation, and in the southwest there are many hills. The eastern part is largely flat but central districts have high and low variations, much like the shape of waves at sea'.<sup>4</sup>

After disembarking in Southampton, Dover or Liverpool, Japanese travellers made their way to London by train or, occasionally, like Nomura Fumio, they arrived on board merchant ships that sailed directly up the Thames. New arrivals were often struck by the scale of the Victorian capital. 'The city is on flat land and the sheer density of housing is extraordinary', wrote Mashizu Shunjirō in 1862, although he noticed that, in the centre, 'there are several wide open spaces called parks where people often gather for recreation'. He thought the city was considerably larger than Paris, with 'a greater variety of goods from all over the world to be found in the shops', and claimed that 'the flourishing

prosperity (of London) has no equal throughout the world'.<sup>5</sup>

Familiar landmarks were often recalled to describe what they saw. In 1862 Nozawa Yūta thought that the Thames was comparable in size with the Ryōkoku river in Edo, while in 1866, Nomura likened it to the Yodogawa river in Ōsaka.<sup>6</sup> Kawaji was impressed by the great concentration of gaslights in the central districts, and wrote that 'Charing Cross is like the Nihonbashi of Edo. The buildings on both sides of the street are lit up and paned with glass so that, at night, the general effect is quite breathtaking, and simply too beautiful to describe on paper'.<sup>7</sup>

Some travellers were alarmed by the volume of traffic. Kawaji wrote that 'the busy thoroughfare in the streets is just like Edo Boulevard at New Year or in the twelfth month. Carriages go back and forth endlessly throughout the day, and it can be really quite dangerous to walk in the middle of the road'.<sup>8</sup> Shortly afterwards, Nakai Hiroshi also discovered the perils awaiting pedestrians, and took refuge on the pavement. 'For longer journeys, there are trains and carriages', he explained: 'people walk on slightly raised places on either side of the street. Carriages use the lower area in the middle, and anyone foolish enough to walk there will be assailed on all sides by carriages at great personal risk'.<sup>9</sup>

Following the expansion of the railways and the creation of outlying residential districts, there were already large numbers of workers commuting to London. According to some figures which Okada cited, 'in 1863, London was calculated as having a population of 2,820,000, with 70,000 people on average travelling to and from the city every day'.<sup>10</sup> On the way back from an excursion in 1865, Shibata, the leader of Okada's party, was shown into a grand room which he described as 'a club house', although he was 'unsure of the exact purpose this club serves'. He suggested that clubs like this 'were perhaps set up because many officers travel into work from outlying districts, and the cost of renting houses in the city is so high'.<sup>11</sup>

The lay-out of the city and the construction of the buildings prompted less favourable comments, especially among those arriving directly from Paris like

the Takenouchi mission in 1862. Fuchinabe thought the streets were 'too narrow by half' and 'much narrower than in Paris'.<sup>12</sup> Nozawa was apparently unfamiliar with bricks when writing that 'the exteriors (of buildings) are made up of cornered blocks like pillows piled on top of each other'. In his opinion, 'neither the town nor the house construction match the prosperity of Paris, and can even be said to pale in comparison to that of Edo'.<sup>13</sup> Mashizu noticed that 'the townhouses are three or four storeys high, and much lower than those in Paris. There are some houses with seven or eight storeys but these are greatly inferior'.<sup>14</sup>

Japanese visitors arriving in London also found there the problems of poverty and crime of a growing metropolis in a period of rapid social change. This was a perhaps surprising discovery for some who had marvelled at the 'progress' of western civilization manifest in the gaslit streets, telegraph lines and steam trains they had seen during their voyage to Europe. This was often a turning point in their perceptions of Britain. While some had retained an idealised notion of Victorian progress during the voyage, signs of social problems in London could undermine the appeal of commercial and technological development along British lines.

As early as 1862, Matsuki Kōan had complained that members of the Takenouchi mission had been besieged in their London hotel by beggars who sang and danced below their windows day and night. He blamed alcoholism for the great numbers of poor people on the streets, and commented that 'they would rather beg than live in the workhouse where drinking is prohibited'.<sup>15</sup> Ten years later, Kido Takayoshi was even taken on a guided tour of the London poor, and after seeing 'six or seven lodging houses for the destitute in the district', he concluded that 'the poor people here are even more destitute than ours'.<sup>16</sup> The Iwakura embassy clearly had a less closeted sojourn than the first Chinese embassy which arrived in 1877, for after two months in Britain, one Chinese diplomat declared that 'we have often passed through the streets, but never have we heard people shouting or quarrelling, nor have we seen anyone looking sad or worried'.<sup>17</sup>

In contrast, life on the streets of London was a revelation to Nakai Hiroshi in

1867. He noticed that 'there are thieves in the more crowded streets, much like the pickpockets in Japan'. He was also offered a rare insight during his stay in the Forest Hill area, reporting that, 'in a little village near London, there is a teacher who exhorts wealthy citizens to help the poor. Every morning, they gather in front of the church or the school and hand out boiled soup. My host took me to see this, and I was astonished at the great numbers of poor people there'. It is significant that travellers like Nakai and Kido should have shown an interest in observing poverty at first-hand, and that their Victorian guides were willing to show them the harsher realities of urban life. In this context, Nakai may have been encouraged by his host to discover the virtues of Christian charity. As far as he was concerned though, experiences like this enabled him to arrive at a more sophisticated interpretation of Victorian progress, and he commented somewhat bleakly that 'these extremes of poverty are an unchanging norm all over the world, and even in such a developed and prosperous nation as this'.<sup>18</sup>

In the mid-1870s, Nakai was again in London, attached to the Japanese Legation, and had further opportunities to study the social problems of the Victorian capital. He noticed that the poor congregated in places around the Tower of London, in Seven Dials near Covent Garden and in Islington. After reading an article in a Japanese magazine devoted exclusively to laudable aspects of western progress, he was moved to write and publish a damning essay on the more clandestine social activities he had observed. 'The streets of London are a hive of prostitution', he declared, and 'according to the police authorities, there are several hundred thousand prostitutes in the city'. He condemned the hypocrisy of aristocrats, merchants and scholars who showed a respectable countenance to the world by day while covertly indulging in socially prohibited activities by night. According to his own observations, 'the easiest places to detect such scenes are in Hyde Park, Regents Park, St James Park, Surrey Gardens and in the grounds in front of Buckingham Palace'. After sunset, he wrote, such places were teeming with prostitutes, and he described how 'the most wealthy of them ride through these parks in Victoria coaches pulled by two horses with two coachmen, and frequent the Haymarket regardless of the time of day'.<sup>19</sup>

Nakai investigated the social background behind these scenes, and discovered

that 'many of these women are from good homes but have been forced into this world of suffering in order to make ends meet, perhaps because their husbands have died, or because they have failed to return from trips to India, Canada or the Far East'. This served to cast doubts on the western marital practices which were being advocated by some would-be social reformers in Japan, and he stressed that 'while the custom of monogamy is rigidly adhered to, clandestine liaisons abound in the shadows'. Such secretive relationships often involved maintaining companions in kept houses, an arrangement he noticed was actually facilitated by modern communications systems like the postal and telegraph networks.<sup>20</sup>

Nakamigawa Hikojiro,<sup>a</sup> a student in London during the mid-1870s, was equally critical of the Victorian society he saw. 'The people of London think of nothing but to idly spend their lives satisfying their craving for the luxury and entertainment to be found in the city', he wrote in his diary, and warned somewhat ominously that the city 'has the air of Edo in the last days of the Tokugawa world'.<sup>21</sup> These portraits of a decadent society possibly betray the *samurai* education of their writers. Nakamigawa's apparently affronted sense of frugality, for example, perhaps calls to mind the disdain often reserved for the perceived excesses of merchants during the Edo period. At the same time, their perspectives partially reflected current events at home. Keenly aware of the rapid social changes in progress there, and the sometimes indiscriminate receptivity to western fashions in the early Meiji years, they felt that the severity of these attacks on life in London were necessary to discourage the often underinformed approval of Victorian culture in Japan.

#### Tours of observation

Whether on diplomatic missions or in parties of students, the first few weeks in Britain were usually spent in making a number of visits to acclaimed sites of interest. This invariably entailed trips to tourist sites of the day, from the Thames Tunnel to Madame Tussauds, Regents Park Zoo, the British Museum, the Tower of London and Crystal Palace. Many travellers also took advantage of the opportunity to see the House of Commons in session.

Many such visits were recorded in Japanese travellers' diaries. Ichikawa Wataru,

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a. 中上川彦次郎



for example, noted in 1862 that 'zoos, botanical gardens and museums like this are built in the capital of every country in the West'.<sup>1</sup> Crystal Palace, a short journey from the centre by train, was a favourite destination, and although a number of diarists waxed lyrical on the beauty of its surroundings, Fuchinabe reached rare heights in 1862 when he wrote that 'the ponds were so clear and the grounds so elegant that I could not tire of looking at them'. He noted that 'all those who come to this country make a point of visiting this place, and the local inhabitants too sometimes spend several days here if they have the time'.<sup>2</sup> Fukuzawa recorded the great interest in the exhibition then being held in Kensington Gardens, and noted that 'nobody leaves before seeing the exhibition and there are not enough hotels in London to cope with all the numbers'.<sup>3</sup> There was also a Japanese pavilion there consisting of 614 articles sent back by Rutherford Alcock. This provoked criticism from Japanese visitors who saw it, and in Fuchinabe's opinion, 'it was such a ramshackle assortment of artefacts that it looked just like an old antique shop, and I could not bear to look'.<sup>4</sup>

Newly-arrived Japanese travellers were also intrigued by the level of interest in popular sporting events. Members of the Takenouchi mission were taken to see the Epsom Derby in 1862, a visit that became the subject of a satirical article in *Punch*.<sup>5</sup> It was the custom of gambling that most caught the attention of Ichikawa, who explained that 'fortunes can be won or lost in seconds. There are countless cases after the Derby every year in which yesterday's paupers will suddenly be wearing brocade, and the wealthy will have lost their fortune'.<sup>6</sup> He was also intrigued by the practice of releasing homing pigeons after the race to households waiting impatiently to hear the result. In 1868, Sano Tsunetami arrived in London just in time for the University Boat Race, and again the intense public interest made a stronger impression than the sporting event itself. 'London was filled with supporters of both sides including women and young girls', he wrote, 'and even their carriages were bedecked with their team's colours'.<sup>7</sup> These images of British sporting life were at odds with the impressions of the Chinese official, Liu Hsi-hung who commented in 1877 that, 'throughout the whole country, there are no gambling houses and no opium dens. In their free time, the people hold boat races, horse races, and boxing and high jumping contests, all to foster military training'.<sup>8</sup>

In addition to places of general interest, travellers on diplomatic delegations had opportunities to tour industrial facilities and institutions which, for those like Fukuzawa Yukichi pursuing *tansaku* investigations, were often more specifically relevant to their enquiries. Beasley has pointed out that some members of the 1862 *bakufu* mission perhaps had some control over their itinerary, and appear to have made requests through John MacDonald, their guide, to inspect particular types of industrial installation.<sup>9</sup> These visits required invitations, often arranged by the Foreign Office, in addition to willing hosts and guides. A Colonel Boxer, for example, addressed members of the Takenouchi mission at length during their visit to Woolwich Arsenal. His explanations of the manufacturing processes there, however, caused only dismay for Fuchinabe who found it all quite incomprehensible.<sup>10</sup> In addition, members of the mission saw a number of other institutions in the London area from Kings College Hospital, St Mary's Hospital in Paddington to the Bank of England and the Royal Mint. Further excursions took some of them out of the capital to Aldershot to watch sham battle manouevres specially laid on by the army, and to the dockyards in Portsmouth. An intensive short tour of the north took them to North Seaton colliery near Newcastle, the docks in Liverpool, and to glassworks, ironworks and other factories in Birmingham.

Both the 1867 *bakufu* mission under Tokugawa Akitake and the Iwakura embassy that arrived in Britain in 1872 received audiences from Queen Victoria. The *bakufu* mission's itinerary included visits to the office of *The Times*, the dockyards in Portsmouth and the Thames Ironworks. Plans to visit the industrial cities were shelved because, according to Alexander von Siebold, the party's interpreter, 'military matters and armaments' were 'the only thing he (Akitake) really seems to care for'.<sup>11</sup>

The Iwakura embassy spent four months in Britain and had the time and resources to conduct numerous tours of observation. These included visits to far-flung places including the Bell Rock lighthouse and the Trossachs, and some of the party had time to cross the Irish Sea to Dublin. During visits to chambers of commerce in provincial cities, police stations, courts, libraries and schools, members of the party were able to see how local government, law enforcement and educational bodies were organised in Britain. In particular, they were able to

inspect the industrial centres of Britain in unprecedented detail, from the cotton mills around Manchester to the Armstrong factory at Elswick and the Gosforth colliery on Tyneside. A wide range of manufacturing processes were observed, from the production of iron and steel to railways, rubber, cutlery, clocks, glass, porcelain, beer and biscuits. Ōkubo Toshimichi thought of the industrial north as a potentially useful model of rapid economic development.<sup>12</sup> This perception was to have a direct impact on the Meiji government's insistence on giving priority to industrial development over short-term military objectives following the Iwakura embassy's return to Japan. As Kume showed in his *Kairan Jikki*, which often reflected the views of the embassy's leaders, Britain was thought of as broadly comparable with Japan as an island of similar size and population. It was Britain's highly developed trade and industry, however, that had allowed her to achieve preeminence as the world's foremost power.

Tours of observation were not the exclusive preserve of official diplomatic missions, and travellers sent overseas by government ministries or individual *han* also had opportunities to visit factories and shipyards. Among the numerous examples of research visits, some were undertaken to pursue quite specific lines of enquiry. Some are well-documented such as the case of Maejima Hisoka who studied the British postal system during a nine-month stay in 1871 and 1872. He is known to have regularly visited government ministries and post offices, sometimes disguised as an office clerk, and in spite of an initially haughty reception at the G.P.O., received enough help to amass a significant amount of material.<sup>13</sup> Although there were many other comparable visits, details have rarely survived. One example is the case of Baba Takeyoshi<sup>a</sup> who was in Cambridge between 1873 and 1875 as a retainer of Nabeshima Naotora<sup>b</sup> of Ogi *han* in Hizen, and who was tutored by a student there called John May. According to a series of four newspaper articles he wrote in 1878 following his return to Japan, he had been taken by May at some time to visit Rochdale, which was then a pioneering centre of the growing cooperative movement in Britain. Entitled 'On the Question of Founding a Cooperative Store', these articles are thought to have been instrumental in promoting the later formation of cooperative organisations in Japan.<sup>14</sup>

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a. 馬場武義

b. 鍋島直虎

### Tours of observation in the eyes of the Victorian press

Although British journalists could not report Japanese travellers' thoughts, they sometimes noted their activities in detail, and recorded the attitudes and reactions of their Victorian hosts. Newspaper correspondents confessed to finding Japanese countenances so unfathomable that they were unable to comment on the impressions they might have formed. This was still the case in 1872 during the Iwakura embassy's visit, in spite of their western clothes, the prepared speeches read out at formal receptions, and the fact that some of them could converse in English. According to a report at the time, 'it would not be easy to say what the departing Embassy really thought of England and the English'.<sup>1</sup> Some journalists were at least aware that their own culture was being sometimes systematically observed. One *Times* correspondent commented on the Takenouchi mission in 1862 that 'there is one thing, perhaps, that we should all like to see, and that is a translation of that ready writer's notes with facsimiles of the sketches. It would be the most saleable work of the next season'.<sup>2</sup> It was perhaps such interest that persuaded Ernest Satow to translate Ichikawa Wataru's diary when it was published in Edo the following year.

The British press was impressed with the bearing of the Takenouchi mission. In one article it was noted that, 'at the hotel where they are quartered the remarkable docility, gentleness, and politeness of the whole retinue strike every one who has opportunities of seeing them'.<sup>3</sup> A later piece asserted that, 'indeed, the general bearing of these remarkable men, calm, self-possessed, quiet and unobtrusive as it is, at once inspires respect wherever they go'.<sup>4</sup> While at pains to point out the elevated rank of members of the Iwakura embassy a decade later, journalists paid comparatively less attention to their bearing and deportment. One explanation was a growing familiarity with the sight of Japanese students on the streets of London; another was their less exotic attire, for it was observed that the Japanese ambassadors wore 'plain European clothes, which did not sit gracefully on them'.<sup>5</sup>

The two most significant features to emerge from such articles, however, were a keen sense of gratification at the obvious interest which Japanese visitors took in all they saw, and a frequently expressed desire that their observations of

British industry and society would have a tangible impact, both materially and morally, on the development of Japan. Many journalists noticed the particular interest that various Japanese groups showed in mechanical apparatus. According to one comment on the 1862 *bakufu* mission, 'machinery of all kinds has a sort of fascination for them, and they never tire of watching every exhibition of it of which they are afforded a sight'.<sup>6</sup> Another piece recorded their visit to Woolwich Arsenal shortly afterwards where the latest Armstrong guns were being manufactured, observing that 'the scribes of the party with unflagging zeal tried hard to embody the momentary impressions which each process produced'.<sup>7</sup> On a subsequent visit there a few days later, a reporter from *The Times* noted that their notebooks became 'filled with remarks and sketches, which they no doubt considered a sufficient model for their guidance in establishing their manufacture in their own country'.<sup>8</sup> The individual described in *The Times* as 'a Lieutenant-Colonel in the Native Artillery' could have been Oka Shikanosuke,<sup>a</sup> an artillery expert from Hizen, where a prototype copy of an Armstrong gun was actually produced the following year.<sup>9</sup>

Illegal travellers, the *mikkōsha*, were sometimes observed with as much interest as the official missions, as the party of Satsuma students discovered in July 1865 when they visited the Britannia Ironworks at Bedford, together with the remaining three students from Chōshū. A newspaper article recorded that 'they appeared very unwilling to leave the works, but steam having been got up in one of the new steam-ploughing engines, about 15 of the Japanese crowded on to it wherever they could get a footing, and it was highly amusing to see with what delight they travelled in all directions over the existing quadrangle of the works'.<sup>10</sup>

In addition to machinery, Victorian reporters were pleased to discover the interest that many Japanese travellers showed in the workings of mines. When three of the Satsuma party visited the Alderley Edge copper mine in September 1865, the local newspaper related that 'the spacious cavern was repeatedly most brilliantly illuminated with blue lights, magnesium wire, and yellow, rose and white port fires, while Catherine wheels were contributing to this delightful effect'. It was noted with unconcealed pride that, 'at this, the culminating point of interest, the Japanese could be seen gliding with praiseworthy alacrity

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a. 岡鹿之助

into the lodes and subsidiary galleries from which the copper is daily extracted in large quantities'.<sup>11</sup> Other visits were perhaps less comfortable experiences, and when Prince Higashi Fushimi no Miya<sup>a</sup> and his suite were at Radstock mine in the Somerset coalfield in early 1872, a local reporter recorded that, 'where the vein is not more than a foot-and-a-half in thick, it was necessary for a great distance to crawl on breast and knees'.<sup>12</sup> Later that year, Ōshima Takatō<sup>b</sup> arrived with the Iwakura embassy to inspect mining conditions, and led a party of three to inspect tin, copper and coal mines in Cornwall, Devon and South Wales, commenting on one of his visits that 'the noise of carts and explosion was so enormous that I thought I was in hell'.<sup>13</sup>

These newspaper reports are brimming with a simple desire to impress. They convey well the willingness of Victorian hosts to parade their technical triumphs, and their pride at the keen interest these aroused in their Japanese guests. An article in *The Times* in 1862, for example, expressed the modest hope that the 'temporal affections (of the Empire of Japan) are wooed by displaying to its Ambassadors all the glories of European science and art'.<sup>14</sup> There was, however, a broader agenda in the minds of many Victorians involved in entertaining Japanese travellers. Alcock's motives in recommending a *bakufu* mission had, for example, been influenced by the belief that exposure to European culture would promote the chances of open trade. One journalist reminded readers of *The Times* in 1872 of their responsibility to welcome the Iwakura embassy, stressing that, 'upon the relations we cultivate with men of this spirit, intelligence and power must depend, to an incalculable degree, the prospects of English enterprise in Japan, and even of Japanese civilization'.<sup>15</sup> In particular, some reporters expressed the desire that a favourable impression of Victorian material prosperity could perhaps enhance the prospects of Christianity gaining converts in Japan. One article commenting on the arrival of the Satsuma students in 1865, for example, suggested that, 'may not the opportunities they will have of studying the principles of Christianity, and of observing its salutary influence on our social life as well as on our national polity, have a deeper and more lasting effect than the labours of even the most zealous missionaries could produce on the minds of their countrymen at home?'<sup>16</sup>

In addition to revealing the attitudes and aspirations of these Victorian hosts,

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a. 東伏見宮

b. 大島高任

English newspaper articles can sometimes be used to trace the movements of Japanese travellers in Britain. In this context, articles relating to official visits such as *bakufu* missions and the Iwakura embassy have already been well researched.<sup>17</sup> Others have received less attention, however, and can be used to track the activities of some travellers whose movements and identities have remained in doubt.

A good example is the case of Godai Tomoatsu who planned the Satsuma expedition to Britain in 1865. In Japan, Godai's travels in Britain are thought to have been confined to London, the Midlands and the industrial north. Newspapers indicate, however, that he visited both Scotland and perhaps Ireland as well. After the party of students from Satsuma arrived in London in 1865, Godai embarked on a tour of the industrial heartland of England together with Niino Hisanobu, the official party leader, Hori Takayuki, his interpreter, and Ryle Holme, the employee of Glover & Co. who acted as their guide.<sup>a</sup> In addition to procuring binoculars, and a number of books, they are known to have purchased guns in Birmingham and cotton-spinning machinery from Platt & Co. in Manchester. This arrived in Satsuma the following year and was used in setting up the first western-style cotton mill in Japan. Some of the machinery can still be seen on display at the Shūseikan Museum in Kagoshima.<sup>b</sup>

Japanese diaries and letters record that Godai's party began this tour to the north on 10 August 1865 and left for the continent on 13 September, five days after returning to London.<sup>18</sup> On 28 August, the London & China Telegraph noted that 'the three elder members of this Satsuma Expedition' had visited 'firstly, some of the more important agricultural districts, secondly, the manufacturing towns of Manchester, Birmingham, Macclesfield, &c., and are now on their way northwards to Aberdeen and other places of note in Scotland. Returning thence, they intend crossing the Irish Channel to inspect the Dublin Exhibition, after which they will travel for a short time on the Continent, preparatory to turning their steps once more towards the 'Land of the rising sun''. Another article recorded that, on 19 August, they had seen 'the extensive silk-spinning and manufacturing establishment of Messrs. I. and T. Brocklehurst and Sons, of Macclesfield' which was then 'the largest establishment in the world for the fabrication of silks, &c'.<sup>19</sup>

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a. 堀半之

b. 集成館

The central figure in arranging the Satsuma party's visit to Macclesfield was one Edward Clarke who, although a native of Staffordshire, was the acting Portuguese Consul in Yokohama. Later that year, Shibata Takenaka, the newly-arrived *bakufu* envoy, wrote of Clarke as a source of some irritation. Clarke had pressed his attentions on him at his London hotel and invited him to visit a factory in Stockport. Shibata complained that 'he is only interested in self-publicity' and sent a letter of refusal the following day.<sup>20</sup>

Newspapers show that Clarke had enjoyed more success with Godai and his two companions in the summer. On 19 August, before they left Macclesfield bound for Manchester and then north to Aberdeen, for example, 'the party were introduced by the Portuguese Consul to the chairman of the extensive and valuable copper mines of Alderley Edge, in the neighbourhood'. Furthermore, it was reported, 'the chairman's invitation to inspect these works was gladly accepted', indicating that Godai's party planned to return to Staffordshire.<sup>21</sup>

The choice of Aberdeen as their next destination was undoubtedly influenced by Godai's connection with the Glover family, and may have been timed to coincide with the arrival there of Nagasawa Kanae. The youngest of the Satsuma students at thirteen years old, Nagasawa had also left for Aberdeen on 19 August, travelling by train from London. On his arrival, he was to stay at Braehead Cottage, the Glover family home. Eleven days after Godai's party left Macclesfield, the Aberdeen Journal carried a report describing the launching of the *Owari* by Mrs Glover, a vessel built for Glover & Co in Japan. This noted that, 'among those present were four Japanese officers of distinction, who are in this country on a visit'. Though unnamed in the article, an analysis of the permutations as to which Japanese could conceivably have been in Aberdeen at the time can only support the conclusion that these officers were Godai, Niuro, Hori and the young Nagasawa.<sup>22</sup>

Having completed their tour of Scotland, and possibly Ireland, Godai's party then returned to Macclesfield and visited the copper mine there as promised on 9 September. According to a local newspaper, as they were about to enter the mine, 'the company were gratified to learn that Lady Stanley of Alderley, Lady



Amberley and other members of the family, had signified their pleasure to witness the illuminations of the inner works and galleries'. At a reception given at the Queens Hotel later that day, a toast was offered to the Prince of Satsuma, and 'this was briefly acknowledged by Mr. Shekki (Godai), in the Japanese language, which was interpreted into good English by Mr. Takaki<sup>a</sup> (Hori)'.<sup>23</sup> The party then left by train that same day and, in order to correspond with Japanese sources, must have made straight for London, for five days later, they left London to tour the continent.

#### Japanese students in London and their Victorian mentors

Following their arrival in Britain and during their tours of observation, most Japanese travellers initially stayed in hotels. The Charing Cross Hotel, for example, was a favourite destination on arrival in London. Hotels suited the needs of travellers on diplomatic missions and other short-term visits, but soon proved to be prohibitively expensive for those intending to stay in the country as students. As a result, preparations would then have to be made to find rented accommodation. Alternatively, an even cheaper way of staying in London was as a private guest, and there are a number of examples of Victorian households accommodating Japanese students, some of them in homes of university staff. At this stage, they became heavily dependent on those individuals in Britain who helped make arrangements for their accommodation and courses of study. For Japanese students, therefore, the advice they received from these Victorian mentors often became a significant factor in shaping their experience of Britain.

The first Japanese students in Britain studied in London. When the five officers from the Chōshū *han* arrived in 1863, they were introduced by Hugh Matheson to Professor Alexander Williamson of University College London who took them into his own home in Hampstead. Williamson managed to have them accepted at UCL where they entered his own class in Analytical Chemistry, a course that was to be taken by a number of Japanese students in the following years. Records of their studies still survive, including details of their fees. Of the five, Inoue Kaoru alone appears not to have been registered and, together with Itō Hirobumi, his stay in Britain was too short-lived to pursue any studies at length. By July 1864, the remaining three students believed they had made 'considerable

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a. 関研蔵、高木政次

progress', and according to a British acquaintance, were able to converse 'partly in English, of which they have learnt a little'.<sup>1</sup> Inoue Masaru, was to stay at UCL until 1868 and attended a number of courses in addition to Analytical Chemistry, including Mineralogy and French.<sup>2</sup>

Through Williamson's efforts, UCL went on to become the single most frequented university in the world for Japanese overseas in the 1860s and 1870s. As Olive Checkland has pointed out, 'it is believed in Japan that perhaps fifty Japanese had studied at UCL before 1880'.<sup>3</sup> This is actually something of an underestimate, for at least 65 Japanese students were registered at the college or the adjoining school between 1864 and 1876.<sup>4</sup>

Arrangements for the larger party of Satsuma students that arrived in London in 1865 were initially managed by James Glover, the older brother of the Nagasaki merchant who had engineered their escape. After a short stay in the Kensington Hotel, they spent the summer in a house in Bayswater Road, described by Matsumura as a six-storey building with glass windows affording panoramic views of the city. Another Scot by the name of Barff was hired to teach them English there; paper and stationery were delivered, including 'steel brushes' in the words of Machida Hisanari, and they embarked on a strict daily régime of lessons with frequent walks in Hyde Park nearby.<sup>5</sup> Glover referred them to Williamson's care, and thirteen of them duly registered to study Analytical Chemistry at UCL. They were then divided into groups of twos and threes and moved to separate lodgings in the homes of UCL staff, all within easy walking distance of the college. It was thought that living together under one roof would limit their exposure to English and handicap their efforts to learn the language.<sup>6</sup>

Thereafter, the Satsuma students' pattern of research followed the academic year. In letters to Kagoshima in late 1865, one student, Mori Arinori, described a disciplined daily routine, with particular care given to physical health through attention to nutrition and physical exercise. He also thought that his first few months outside Japan, first of all during the voyage and then as a student in London, had made a profound and useful impact on his own outlook. 'I am astonished', he wrote, 'at how greatly I have changed since the start of this journey', and declared that experience of the outside world was a distinct

advantage in realising grand ambitions in life.<sup>7</sup> The Satsuma students took advantage of the summer holidays in 1866 to make separate short trips to Scotland, Russia, America and the continent. Like Inoue Masaru, some of them attended a number of different courses at UCL. All of them, however, had left the country by the end of the summer of 1867.

While responsibility for their studies lay with Professor Williamson on the one hand, the Satsuma students had increasingly fallen under the influence of Laurence Oliphant, MP for Perth and a prominent japanophile, who they had met shortly after their arrival through a letter of introduction written by Thomas Glover. At this time, Oliphant was planning to flee what he saw as the corruption of western civilization and join 'the Brotherhood of the New Life', a newly-formed Christian colony at Brocton near Lake Erie. This was set up by Thomas Lake Harris, a former Swedenborgian preacher who advocated what he called 'The Use', a creed described by Ivan Hall as 'a baffling concoction of the earnest and the eminently sensible with the fanciful and downright preposterous'.<sup>8</sup> Oliphant persuaded the remaining six Satsuma students to join him there and lead a devotional life free of the expenses that were increasingly crippling their studies in London. After two years in Britain, funds were no longer being sent from Satsuma, and Jardine Matheson & Co. had finally refused to accept any more of their demands for credit.<sup>9</sup>

This lack of funds particularly affected the plans of Hatakeyama Yoshinari who had been nurturing ambitions to study at the Royal Military Academy in Woolwich. News of Jardine Matheson & Co.'s decision arrived just as he was preparing for entrance examinations and compelled him to travel with the other students to Brocton in America, although the following year he was still expressing a desire to enrol at Woolwich.<sup>10</sup> Hatakeyama had, nevertheless, managed to make quite extensive observations of British military life. In August 1866, he had spent a week in Aldershot, where he was shown around the military installations by a Crimean war veteran called Tomlinson.<sup>11</sup> Before long, he had even joined the army, albeit in the volunteer militia. Nakai Hiroshi recorded how, one day, in December 1866, he 'went with Matsumura and Sugiura (Hatakeyama) to a photographer wearing Japanese clothes. Sugiura is a British soldier and was in military uniform'. A few days later, he observed some military manoeuvres at

Dover, and noted that 'my four friends Noda (Sameshima), Nagai (Yoshida), Matsumura and Sugiura (Hatakeyama) are members of the volunteer militia and so they went there with the other soldiers'. Nakai was impressed by the military display he saw there, and thought 'it was just like a real battle. The echo of cannonfire between the castle batteries and the battleship in the sea below was loud enough to shake the heavens'.<sup>12</sup>

Another student, Minami Teisuke<sup>a</sup> of Chōshū, actually succeeded in gaining entry to the Military Academy. A nephew of Takasugi Shinsaku, he had arrived in London in 1865 and his name appears in UCL records in 1866. As a rule, foreigners were barred from the Military Academy, but Minami was apparently admitted with the help of Laurence Oliphant.<sup>13</sup> It was no coincidence, therefore, that Nakai had also met him at the Dover manoeuvres.<sup>14</sup> Financial hardship, however, forced Minami to retire from the college and return to Japan the following year.

During 1866 and 1867, the numbers of Japanese in London were starting to increase following the *bakufu* decision to legalise overseas travel. The single largest contingent sent to Britain in the late 1860s was the party of fourteen *bakufu* students that arrived in early 1867. The party was officially under the supervision of two directors, Kawaji Tarō and Nakamura Masanao, but was controlled by W. V. Lloyd, the naval chaplain recommended to the *bakufu* by Sir Harry Parkes to manage the students' affairs. After initially staying in hotels, the party moved into a large house at No 16 Lancaster Gate which Lloyd had bought especially for them. This he had done without the sanction of the Foreign Office, however, and the students were surprised to find themselves sharing the house with Lloyd's own family who left their home in Bath and joined him in London shortly afterwards.<sup>15</sup>

The *bakufu* students were in Britain for little more than a year, during which time much of their energy was expended on resolving the increasingly bitter power struggle that ensued between Kawaji and Nakamura on the one hand, and W. V. Lloyd on the other. Their experience provides the most clear-cut example of Japanese students being manipulated by Victorian mentors for personal gain. At first, a private tutor was hired to teach the students English at Lancaster

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a. 南貞助

Gate, followed shortly afterwards by a certain Edward Maltby who gave them daily instruction in English and Mathematics.<sup>16</sup> They were kept to a rigid schedule, and were subject to fines unless back at their lodgings by 5 p.m.

Like the Satsuma students, the *bakufu* party voiced a desire to be divided into smaller groups in separate lodgings. When Lloyd proved unreceptive to this plan, the students increasingly questioned his motives in supervising their affairs. In their view, Lloyd wanted to avoid the extra expense of accommodating them at different addresses, just as he had insisted on hiring only one tutor for all fourteen of them. One of the students, Hayashi Tadasu, later claimed that Lloyd was driven by greed and vanity, and squandered money needlessly, holding lavish receptions and sending his daughters out for riding lessons.<sup>17</sup> In a letter in late 1867, Laurence Oliphant who, for his part, was trying to prise Japanese students away from their various protectors, wrote that 'Mr. Lloyd is a chaplain in the Navy, and receives over £3,000 a year for looking after these young men, instead of under £300 which would be his regular pay, besides living in a grand house in London'. He pointed out with some regret that 'he will therefore jealously resent interference'.<sup>18</sup>

For a short time, the *bakufu* students' wish was granted and, in July 1867, they were moved to separate addresses, such as No 14 Ladbroke Road, Notting Hill, the home of John Oakley Clarke, and the Harvey family home at No 52 Notting Hill. Before long, however, Lloyd had contrived to gather them all together under one roof once more, resulting in a letter of complaint in English that ten of the students sent to the Foreign Secretary, Lord Stanley. Lloyd's motive for moving them back to Lancaster Gate was personal profit, they claimed, and they were also furious at his attempts to place them at UCL School where they would have to follow a general curriculum rather than train in their special fields. They wanted to 'master thoroughly particular arts and sciences', rather than study in order 'to be called an educated man'.<sup>19</sup>

Lloyd appealed in writing to Sir Harry Parkes, complaining of 'a *quasi* mutiny among his flock'. He won the sympathy of Sir Edmund Hammond, the Permanent Private Secretary at the Foreign Office, who denounced the *bakufu* students as 'an unruly lot' and compared them unfavourably with the Satsuma students.

Hammond lamented 'poor Lloyd's' difficulties, and sent a message 'to the refractory students, saying that if they did not behave well and obey their teachers they would at once be sent back to Japan and they must judge for themselves what reception they would be likely to meet with on their return home'. The students' impassioned pleas had no hope of success.<sup>20</sup>

The *bakufu* students remained at Lancaster Gate for the rest of their stay in Britain and, according to Hayashi's own reminiscences, went on to study at UCL every day.<sup>21</sup> Existing studies suggest that, with the exception of Nakamura and Kawaji, they all entered UCL School in late 1867 where they received excellent grades.<sup>22</sup> According to the UCL School Register, however, they did not enrol until 14 January 1868 for the term ending that Easter, and paid £154 in tuition fees each.<sup>23</sup> They can only have studied there for a single term. In late 1867, Kawaji and Nakamura pressed their government to relieve Lloyd of his duties or allow them to return home. By the time their case reached the authorities in Edo, however, the *bakufu* had already been overthrown. The Foreign Office began making preparations to have them shipped back to Japan. Rather than suffer this final indignity, however, Tokugawa Akitake, who was still in France, ordered them to Paris where their passage was arranged together with the last remaining *bakufu* students in Holland. The Foreign Office was left to face complaints from Lloyd that their departure had deprived him of his livelihood and his demands for compensation amounting to nearly £5,000.<sup>24</sup>

The *bakufu* students in London felt that their studies had been cut short before they could make any real progress. Hayashi Tadasu even tried to sell his *samurai* swords in a vain attempt to get to America. He imagined that he could get at least five or six pounds for them, enough for a one-way third class ticket. The Oriental Warehouse in Regent Street, however, offered him just two pounds and five shillings, and in spite of his efforts to explain the swords' true value, he was told that the shop's customers were oblivious to concerns of quality. Disheartened, he had to return to Japan with the other *bakufu* students.<sup>25</sup>

Hayashi had apparently been led to believe that he would not need any money in America. This could actually have been the case if he was thinking of Harris' colony at Brocton. Oliphant was certainly making efforts to recruit 'the

Tycoon's Japanese under the charge of Mr. Lloyd'. According to Oliphant, Lloyd had jealously refused him access to the students, 'upon the plea that he was afraid I was trying to get up some plot with the Satsuma people against the Tycoon'. Nevertheless, he may have established some contact, for he claimed that one *bakufu* student, Fukuzawa Einosuke,<sup>a</sup> had expressed a desire to join him in America.<sup>26</sup>

Although the case of Lloyd was an extreme example, many Japanese students placed so much trust in their British mentors that there was certainly scope for manipulation. On their arrival in London after their long voyage in early 1867, Kawaji had as yet seen only the positive side of Lloyd's nature. 'He is such a sincere and warm-hearted character', he wrote, 'that he treats us as if we were his own children, and I am touched by the great trouble he has taken on our behalf'.<sup>27</sup> Hayashi was less impressionable five years later when he returned to Britain with the Iwakura embassy. During their visit to the naval dockyards in Portsmouth, Lloyd suddenly appeared at their hotel to ask for employment with the Japanese government, and citing his past connections with the *bakufu* students. After consulting Hayashi, Itō Hirobumi sent him a letter of refusal.<sup>28</sup>

Like Hayashi, Oliphant thought little of Lloyd. In his enthusiasm for his new-found faith, however, he disapproved of anyone who held influence over Japanese students in Britain in 1867. As Olive Checkland has pointed out, he was 'a deeply disturbed man distracted by the guilt feelings of the dedicated evangelical'.<sup>29</sup> While he professed disinterest in anything but their welfare, Oliphant's attempts to recruit students to Harris' colony were driven by his own ambitions for his chosen religious sect. He was quick to question the motives of merchants like Glover who had helped them make their way overseas. Some Japanese, he claimed, were at the mercy of these businessmen and desperate to escape to Brocton. Closer examination, however, suggests that their troubles were primarily financial, and a Christian life in America offered an immediate solution.

The diary of Hanabusa Yoshimoto, a student from Okayama who arrived in London in May 1867, offers a revealing glimpse of Oliphant's campaign to influence Japanese students. This shows that Sameshima Naonobu and the other remaining

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a. 福沢英之助

Satsuma students were meeting him almost daily. Hanabusa described Oliphant's views as unusual for a European; he was told over dinner that, in spite of the appearance of prosperity in Britain and France, European society was irrevocably ridden with the sickness of self-interest. Japan had, through its lack of exposure to foreign culture, remained culturally pure, but must steel herself in order to preserve her moral health in the face of future open trade.<sup>30</sup> The views of Victorian mentors like Oliphant clearly exerted a powerful influence, for similar sentiments were evident in the report that the Satsuma students sent to their *han* before leaving for America soon afterwards. According to 'one British man (Oliphant) who has been a good friend to us', they wrote, 'British politics may appear fair to the untrained eye, but is not in reality, as everything is ingeniously arranged to allow for the high-handed exercise of despotic power. This is certainly true. The real way of Europe and America is the pursuit of personal profit, seizing territories without qualms of conscience, and entering into leagues with the strong while oppressing the weak'.<sup>31</sup>

In January 1868, with the Satsuma students already in America, Oliphant sent instructions to William F. Cowper, a fellow member of Harris' sect, to recruit another group of five Chōshū students who were then staying at No 4 Kennington Green in South London. He claimed that 'they all want to go to Harris', and suggested 'you can make use of Eukie and Obah to hunt them up'.<sup>32</sup> He further explained that 'Mr. Harrison is a merchant who lives at 4 Kennington Green and a partner of Glover. Perhaps if you were to put yourself in contact with him you might facilitate matters - all these merchants are simply actuated by the desire to make money and they have probably cheated these poor Japanese Princes and their consciences will "make cowards of them all"'.<sup>33</sup> Yūki Kōan and Ōba Genjibē<sup>a</sup> were students from Tosa who, according to Oliphant, were desperate to escape from the tyrannical supervision of Hooper, another merchant and associate of Glover.<sup>34</sup> Oliphant's plans, however, came to nothing when an open rift developed between Harris and the students already in Brocton.<sup>35</sup> In late 1867, there had been thirteen Japanese students at the colony, but in early 1868, after a furious debate during which Harris demanded they place God before the needs of their country, half of them left to pursue their academic careers elsewhere in America.<sup>36</sup>

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a. 大庭源次兵衛



Oliphant's interpretation of British merchants' dealings with Japanese students is questionable. Glover, for example, had sometimes risked his own business interests in helping *mikkōsha* to escape overseas. Nomura Fumio wrote on the night he stole aboard the *Chanticleer* in 1865 that 'the arrangements made by Glover and the trouble and kindness shown by the captain on our behalf have been like that of men related to us by blood'.<sup>37</sup> While Kawaji had expressed similar sentiments about Lloyd, merchants like Hugh Matheson and Thomas Glover managed to retain quite amicable relations in later years with students they had helped during their time in Britain. Oliphant's disillusionment with western civilization, however, directly challenged the commercial wealth pursued by merchants like Glover. During the course of their research, therefore, Japanese students had opportunities to discover gradations of opinion within British society, as they came into closer contact with the political, academic and moral perspectives of their Victorian mentors.

#### The Japanese boom in London in the early Meiji years

In spite of a temporary decrease following the overthrow of the *bakufu* and the turmoil of the civil war, the number of Japanese in London increased rapidly towards the end of the 1860s so that, by the early 1870s, they had become the largest Asian community in the Victorian capital. In place of the age of *mikkōsha* from *han* in southwestern Japan, the legalisation of overseas travel allowed students from various *han* to legitimately make their way abroad. In addition to students and official delegations, other kinds of travellers began arriving in London. These included circus artists, and then resident diplomats as the Japanese legation there grew in size during the early Meiji years.

There was initially great demand for passports from performing artists applying for permission to take their trade abroad. Some of these groups toured more than one country, but the first to arrive in Britain, the troupe of Matsui Gensui<sup>a</sup> from Asakusa, arrived directly from Japan on board the same ship as the *bakufu* students in early 1867. A report in *The Times* commented that 'the 12 Japanese jugglers who arrived in the same ship consists of seven men, two women, two boys and a girl. The children are whirled around in huge humming tops, the others walk on the slack rope, and do the famous butterfly trick'.<sup>1</sup>

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a. 松井源水

Matsui's troupe quickly won acclaim in London, and *The Times* soon reported that 'a company of acrobats, conjurors, and jugglers have established themselves at St. Martin's-hall where, richly habited in their native costume, they go through a set of feats that may be accepted as a specimen of the amusements that find favour in a region to which the attention of the public has of late been more than commonly directed'. The 'top' and 'butterfly' tricks were described at length, although the journalist was bemused by the style of presentation. 'The entertainment is enlivened by the delighted shrieks and shouts of two Japanese children', he wrote, and 'the hilarity thus promoted is qualified only by a dismal accompaniment, played on the musical instruments of Japan, which endures nearly the whole evening'.<sup>2</sup>

The *bakufu* student Kawaji Tarō read this article and went to see Matsui who told him that 'they perform 'top' tricks and hand tricks from eight to ten every evening. They have packed houses every night, and he is most proud of the praise which is heaped on the troupe by the audiences here'.<sup>3</sup> Matsui also performed at the Paris Exposition later that year, while the troupe of Hamaikari Sadakichi,<sup>a</sup> the other group of Japanese entertainers there, made their own appearance in London in 1868. *The Times* announced on 10 June that 'on Sunday last the wife of Hamai Kari Sadakichi, chief of the troupe now performing at the Lyceum Theatre, presented her lord and master with a little girl. This, it is said, is the first child of pure Japanese blood ever born out of Japan - a fact, by the way, rather difficult to prove'.<sup>4</sup> In 1869 and 1870, other Japanese artists such as Ōkagura Maruichi, Matsumoto Yoshigorō and Mitsuda Takijirō also performed in Britain.<sup>b</sup> While these early troupes made an immediate cultural impact on their audiences, passport records indicate that the initial enthusiasm for performing in Britain appears to have waned, only to be revived later in the nineteenth century.<sup>5</sup>

Just as the initial wave of performing artists was disappearing, Japanese resident diplomats were arriving in London for the first time. Difficulties were encountered in finding appropriate premises for the Japanese legation there and new locations were found for each incoming minister. The first to arrive was Sameshima Naonobu in late 1870, but he failed to gain the recognition of the British government because, at the age of only 25, he was considered to lack

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a. 浜健貞吉

b. 大神楽一、松本芳五郎、美津田龍次郎  
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the seniority appropriate to the post.<sup>6</sup> After several months in a London hotel, he removed to Paris where he was better received. Terashima Munenori arrived in 1872 to take up the post vacated by Sameshima and stayed at the Langham Hotel, although he later moved to the less expensive Kensington Hotel which he knew from his experience with the Satsuma expedition in 1865.

In September 1872, a house was found for the Japanese Legation at No 9 Upper Belgravia Street near Victoria. Although it had the advantage of a central location, the house was too small to sustain an office of four Japanese officials and one British employee, so after Terashima's departure in 1873, preparations were made to find an alternative building. On 18 August 1874, a contract was signed with a Thomas Butler Coddington to rent a larger house at No 9 Kensington Park Gardens in Notting Hill for £325 per annum. This was to be the legation building during Ueno Kagenori's term as minister.<sup>a</sup> Ueno arrived in 1874 and, under his supervision, the number of Japanese officials there rose to eight.

In a separate venture, Minami Tamotsu<sup>b</sup> came to Britain as Japanese Consul in 1876, and a consulate was established in the City at Mildway House, Nos 83 and 84 Bishopsgate Street. Staffed by three Japanese officials, this was intended to manage commercial activity and government orders for British goods such as warships and industrial machinery. The consulate was closed down in 1881 due to financial problems, and Mildway House was taken over by the newly-created Yokohama Specie Bank, but it soon reopened in two vacant rooms there the following year. By this time, Mori Arinori had arrived as minister and the Japanese Legation had moved to a more central and imposing building at No 8 Cavendish Square at a rent of £800 per annum. The house in Notting Hill was considered to be too distant from the centre, and this latest move was thought of as one essential element in preparing the ground for revising the unequal treaties. The legation remained there until 1891, and one Japanese diplomat recalled how, although there was little work to do, officials devoted their time to polishing their social skills and refining their knowledge of current affairs, as they 'wanted to convey what a fine show the Japanese could make on foreign soil'.<sup>7</sup>

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a. 上野景範

b. 南保

The majority of the Japanese in London were students. In the late 1860s, both the Meiji government and several *han* soon began to send parties of students abroad. Many of these were registered to study at UCL, a few were at Kings College such as Hara Rokurō, and others like Hoshi Tōru and Baba Tatsui<sup>a</sup> went on to study Law at the Middle Temple, where Hoshi managed to qualify as a barrister after just two-and-a-half years in 1877. Some students like Maeda Toshisane from Kaga were considered too young for college and attended public school.<sup>b</sup> Komuro Shinkichi and Kido Shōjirō,<sup>c</sup> the adopted son of Kido Takayoshi, were recorded as being just eight-and-a-half and twelve years old respectively when they registered at University College School in the early 1870s.<sup>8</sup>

The London addresses of more than fifty Japanese students can be identified during the early 1870s. These are scattered over a wide area of the capital from Ealing and Hampstead to Richmond and Greenwich, and suggest that there were some Japanese who stayed as guests of British acquaintances in outlying suburbs. The three areas with the most noticeable concentration of Japanese students, Bayswater, Notting Hill and Camden, were all quite central. Contributory factors included access to nearby colleges. UCL, for example, could be reached on foot from Camden, and some students are known to have travelled there by underground railway, a journey certainly possible from Bayswater and Notting Hill. Another factor was proximity to the legation, for there were some Japanese living at addresses in Belgravia, and rather greater numbers to be found in Notting Hill. The *Monbushō* students sent to Britain in 1876, for example, were found accommodation close to the legation there.<sup>9</sup> When Nanjō Bunyū<sup>d</sup> arrived in the same year, he was met by a legation official and led to a house facing Kensington Park nearby. He also recorded memorably how, on his first night there, he was unsure of how to turn out the light in his room and simply blew it out, only to be woken hours later by clamouring neighbours complaining of the smell of leaking gas.<sup>10</sup>

Although surprisingly few Japanese students' diaries survive from the 1870s, Baba Tatsui and Tōgō Heihachirō<sup>e</sup> both kept journals in English, partly perhaps to practice the language. Like Kataoka Kenkichi's diary, these often convey no more than lists of engagements, but they do reveal a wide circle of

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a. 原六郎、星亨

b. 前田利綱

c. 小室新吉、木戸正次郎

d. 南条文夫

e. 東郷平八郎

contacts, and show that London was often chosen as the natural rendezvous point when arranging to meet with other Japanese students. Students living within easy reach of the capital like Tōgō in Greenwich, Kikuchi Dairoku in Cambridge, and Nabeshima Naohiro in Oxford, regularly travelled into London by train. These journals also confirm that there was a high degree of contact, both individually and collectively, between students sent to Britain by different *han*. While there may be some element of truth in his analysis, they reveal a significantly different pattern of contact to that later described by Baba Tatsui who felt that, in spite of the numerous Japanese students in London in the early 1870s, inter-*han* rivalry still precluded communication between them.

According to Baba, 'there were about a hundred Japanese students in London and whenever he (Baba) went into the street he could not avoid meeting a fellow countryman. One would imagine that two Japanese meeting in the street of London would warmly grasp each other's hand and enquire after each other. But the fact was quite contrary to our expectation; they passed each other as if they did not know to what country each belonged. The reason was that they were generally the men in whose brain the strong feeling of feudalism existed. Thus they were still the Samurais of different provinces governed by different Daimios, at least in their narrow minded prejudices they thought that it was necessary to treat each student as their enemy unless he belonged to the same clan. It is wonderful that the Japanese people should try to establish their feudal system in England, where it had been abolished about five hundred years ago. One Tosa student used to say that he felt angry whenever he found himself in the presence of Satsuma students. Such was the condition of the Japanese students in London when Tatui Baba came up to study at the capital'.<sup>11</sup>

Baba may have come across students with attitudes such as he described, but these were not representative of the Japanese in London as a whole in the early 1870s. Nevertheless, students certainly showed a marked tendency and enthusiasm to meet with others from their own provincial background. Nabeshima Naohiro, for example, recorded going to Paris for a reunion with more than ten students from his own *han* of Hizen (Saga), and Kataoka's diary reveals that his daily Japanese contacts in London were predominantly men from his native Tosa.<sup>12</sup> A particularly good example occurred in 1868 following the arrival of the

sixteen-year-old Sanjō Kimiyasu and Mōri Motoisa,<sup>a</sup> sons of Sanjō Sanetomi and the *daimyō* of Tokuyama. Ozaki Saburō, one of Sanjō's retainers, later described how they were soon sought out by the same Chōshū students that Laurence Oliphant had tried to lure to America. 'They came into the reception room in the hotel', he recalled, 'and when they saw Prince Sanjō, they all put their hands together on the floor and bowed, paying their respects in the traditional Japanese way. Other guests in the room at the time were astonished to see this, and an article appeared in the newspaper the following day announcing that the rank of the newly-arrived Japanese prince appeared to be so exalted that all the other gentlemen fall on their knees before him, and this served to enhance our reputation still more'.<sup>13</sup>

Expressions of traditional loyalty like this, however, did not preclude contact with students from different regional backgrounds. Rivalries were often suppressed beneath the common needs and shared experiences that quickly became apparent to Japanese students meeting in a city as far west as London. Viewed from Britain, and in discussion with both Victorians and other students, topical issues concerning their homeland could be addressed on a more broadly national level, and approached in a more international context than had previously been possible in the factional service of provincial *han* and government ministries in Japan. Students did not lose their regional perspectives, and former *daimyō* continued to command considerable respect during their travels in Europe. Nevertheless, through their overseas experience, a heightened awareness of their own broader Japanese cultural identity could, to varying degrees, be superimposed over traditional loyalties to their native *han*, contributing to the development of a more clearly articulated national consciousness.

#### Japanese students outside London

While the majority of Japanese students were based in and around London, there were a number of others who, often through the influence of their British contacts, became more widely dispersed. These are sometimes difficult to trace, but enough information has been gathered to at least attempt a survey of the distribution of Japanese students outside the Victorian capital. The first to live outside London were to be found in Aberdeen and Glasgow in Scotland in the

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a. 毛利元功

1860s. Students in Aberdeen were taken under the wing of the Glover family, a direct result of Thomas Blake Glover's activities in enabling officers from Satsuma, Chōshū, Hizen and Aki to escape abroad. This trend, however, did not survive Glover's own bankruptcy in 1870, and soon there were no students left in the city. As yet there were barely any students in Glasgow, but the contributions made by Scottish academics like Henry Dyer in developing the Imperial College of Engineering (*Kōbu Daigakkō*) in Tokyo ensured that Glasgow University went on to become a major centre of scientific research for Japanese students throughout the Meiji period.

The first Japanese student in Aberdeen was Nagasawa Kanae, the thirteen-year-old boy from Satsuma, who arrived from London in the company of James Glover in late August 1865.<sup>1</sup> By the end of March 1866, there were as many as five *mikkōsha* living in the city following the arrivals of Takeda Yōjirō from Chōshū, Nomura Fumio from Aki, and Ishimaru Toragorō and Mawatari Hachirō from Hizen. A local newspaper reported the following year that, 'of the many Japanese gentlemen who have lately visited Europe, several have been for some time staying in Aberdeen'.<sup>2</sup> All of these students, however, had left by the end of 1867. Nagasawa went to America with the other Satsuma students to join Harris' colony at Brocton, but may have briefly returned to Aberdeen in 1872.<sup>3</sup>

The last Japanese students to live in Aberdeen during this period were the sixteen-year-old Mōri Tōjirō and Hattori Senzō<sup>a</sup> of Chōshū.<sup>4</sup> They are known to have been staying in the city from a letter written in November 1867 by Laurence Oliphant, who was scheming to recruit them for Harris' colony. 'They are the dearest boys', he wrote, 'I feel as if they were two little lambs in the midst of wolves'. According to Oliphant, 'one of them wrote us the most plaintive letter saying how miserable and unhappy he was, but they cannot escape from the people under whose charge they are until Minami (whom you remember and is gone to Japan) gets an order from the Prince of Choshu for them to be sent to us'.<sup>5</sup> By this time, Minami Teisuke had temporarily returned to Japan for want of funds to pursue his studies at Woolwich. The misery of which the Chōshū student apparently wrote was perhaps financial, for he was already heavily in debt.

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a. 毛利 藤次郎、服部 潜蔵

As he was still in his early teens, Nagasawa lived at Braehead Cottage, the Glover family home in Old Aberdeen, and the sixteen-year-old Mōri may also have lodged there. The other students found accommodation in rented housing. After staying near the city centre at No 85 Hutcheon Street in the home of a bootmaker called John Burnett, Nomura, Ishimaru and Mawatari, for example, were found separate rented houses in Old Aberdeen which their tutor explained was chosen because it was quiet and conducive to their studies.<sup>6</sup>

Both Nagasawa and Mōri attended Thomas Glover's old school, the Gymnasium in Old Aberdeen, although Mōri was registered under the assumed name of Heyoitchi Hiki.<sup>7</sup> They achieved high grades as results published in the local newspapers testify.<sup>8</sup> The Argyll Commission on the state of education in Scotland visited the school in 1866 and reported: 'the young class was reading an easy text-book, and were well-drilled both in it and in the Latin Grammar. The dux for the day of our visit was a young boy from Japan, - Canaye Nagasawa by name, - one of 20 boys sent by one of the princes of Japan to learn English, and get an English education'. Another pupil of the Gymnasium, Alexander Shewan, also recalled a boy from Japan, 'who of course carried everything before him in classes'.<sup>9</sup>

The five older students in Aberdeen do not appear to have entered Aberdeen University, and four of them are known to have received private lessons on a daily basis in 1866 from a certain Fraser, although there was no teacher registered by that name in the city at the time.<sup>10</sup> Nomura's diary reveals that, in addition to a daily régime of classes in Mathematics, English and Geography, Fraser took his Japanese charges to visit the local law courts, shipyards, factories and other places of interest. According to the Aberdeen Herald, Nomura also went on to make considerable progress under the tuition of J.R. Jones of the Board of Trade Navigation School; 'besides having acquired nearly as much knowledge of Navigational and Nautical Astronomy, as is required for the examination of extra master in the merchant service; he has also studied a large portion of mathematics, Arithmetic, Algebra, Euclid, Trigonometry with Problems in Surveying and Navigation, whilst at the same time he has also obtained a good knowledge of the English language'. The article also acknowledged the difficulties facing Japanese students: 'their language is so entirely different from our own that it must be exceedingly difficult for them



to make any progress whatever, and when we consider the work which Mr. Murata (Nomura) has accomplished we cannot but congratulate him on the great progress he has made'.<sup>11</sup>

Braehead Cottage was the focal point of these students' lives in Aberdeen. Nomura recorded how they gathered there for tea or sometimes dinner, and how old Thomas Berry Glover proved a most genial host, writing that 'it is difficult to describe on paper how kind Glover's father and all the other British here have been to us'.<sup>12</sup> Here, these students from four different *han* mixed freely, and it is interesting to note that, with the exception of Nagasawa who emigrated to America, all the Japanese in Aberdeen in 1866 later pursued careers in engineering and rose to high office in the Ministry of Public Works (*Kōbushō*) and the Imperial Mint.

It cannot have been purely coincidental that Yamao Yōzō, who was later to be instrumental in founding and organising the *Kōbushō*, also arrived in Scotland just at this time to study in Glasgow. One of the original five Chōshū officers who arrived in Britain in 1863, Yamao had left UCL after two years, and the last time his name appears in the register there is during the summer term of 1865. He is thought to have arrived in Glasgow in early 1866 and Hugh Matheson was again responsible for arranging his studies there. Yamao was apparently so short of money that he asked Machida Hisanari, director of the Satsuma students for the funds he needed to make the journey north. Machida, unable to sanction the use of *han* funds for the needs of a Chōshū officer, organised a collection among the students and managed to furnish Yamao with £16.<sup>13</sup>

Yamao lived in Glasgow until late 1868, working as an apprentice at the Napier's shipyard on the Clyde by day, and attending evening classes at Anderson's College, a forerunner of the modern Strathclyde University. The Yamao family still possess a saw and a plane that he used there.<sup>14</sup> Yamao was surprised to see workers with physical disabilities employed at Napier's, and was later active in promoting the establishment of schools for the deaf in Japan. 'Looking around me at the shipyard in Britain where I was studying', he recalled, 'I saw that there were quite a number of deaf people working in the design, carpentry and smithery workshops, and all using sign language to

communicate'.<sup>15</sup>

Yamamoto lived at Hillhead House during his stay in Glasgow. More than seventy years later, a certain George Brown recalled how his father, Colin Brown, a lecturer of music at Andersons College, had moved to the house in 1866, and 'had become responsible for the wellbeing of, I think, the first Japanese Samurai who came to this country to study shipbuilding, against great opposition by the then Government'. According to Brown, 'while he stayed with us I recall having opened the door of the dining-room and seeing a group of his friends sitting on the floor in eager discussion round a low stool which held tea. It was a council of the new Japan party, led by the famous Count Ito, before their return to bring into being the great Empire of the East'.<sup>16</sup> While obviously mistaken, for Itō Hirobumi was in Japan throughout Yamamoto's years in Glasgow, this childhood memory does show that other Japanese visited the city in the 1860s, and underlines the point that Yamamoto, while studying alone, was certainly in contact with other Japanese students in Britain.<sup>17</sup>

Yamamoto's Glasgow sojourn was to have momentous consequences for the future of engineering in Japan, for his experience there was an essential factor in planning the *Kōbu Daigakkō* college. When the Iwakura embassy arrived in Glasgow in 1872, Itō Hirobumi chose a newly-graduated engineer called Henry Dyer to take charge of the proposed college.<sup>18</sup> Dyer had been at Anderson's College at the same time as Yamamoto, and later recalled that their common experience in Glasgow was of great help when they set about organising the *Kōbu Daigakkō*.<sup>19</sup> Dyer was just one of several Scottish academics to be employed at the college, and it became a natural progression for the most promising Japanese engineers there to be sent to Glasgow University.<sup>20</sup> The first of these, Taniguchi Naosada and Masuda Reisaku,<sup>a</sup> arrived in 1876, and were followed by several others, all of whom spent their Glasgow years in the care of Lord Kelvin. Kelvin proclaimed his best student to have been Shida Rinzaburō,<sup>b</sup> who arrived in 1880, received the Cleland prize of ten guineas for his thesis on magnetic susceptibility, and went on to become a professor at Tokyo University at the age of 36.<sup>21</sup>

Like Aberdeen and Glasgow, Edinburgh also had a strong engineering connection

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a. 谷口直貞、益田礼作

b. 志田林三郎

with Japan during the late 1860s and 1870s. This arose from the fact that Japan's first modern lighthouses were then being constructed under the supervision of the Stevenson Co. in Edinburgh. When the Iwakura embassy visited the city in 1872, the seventeen-year-old Sugi Kōichirō<sup>a</sup> was left behind to study Mathematics at the university and, together with Fujikura Kentatsu,<sup>b</sup> also received training at Stevensons. After two years in Edinburgh, Sugi returned to become the first Japanese professor at the *Kōbu Daigakkō*, while Fujikura went on to become head of the Lighthouse Bureau.

In the year above Sugi at college in Edinburgh was a certain Robert Louis Stevenson who was training to follow his father in the business of building lighthouses. It was perhaps through Sugi that Stevenson met Masaki Taizō,<sup>c</sup> a former pupil of Yoshida Shōin, who was then at UCL in London. Stevenson published a short biography of 'Yoshida Torajiro' in 1880, and explained to his readers: 'I tell you the story on the authority of an intelligent Japanese gentleman, Mr Taiso Masaki who told it me with an emotion that does honour to his heart'.<sup>22</sup>

While there were already Japanese students in Scotland during the 1860s, it was not until the following decade that they appeared in provincial centres of learning in England. The first group of students in England to live outside the capital, embarked on their research in the little village of Kington Langley, three miles outside Chippenham in Wiltshire. This group of five officers from Tosa arrived in London in the summer of 1870, and after staying at the Charing Cross Hotel, were met by a Rev J.J. Daniell and escorted back to Wiltshire.<sup>23</sup> There they lived in Daniell's house for six months receiving private lessons in English. They also received several notable visits from other Japanese travellers. In January 1871, Hayashi Yūzō,<sup>d</sup> a high-ranking Tosa officer then in Europe to observe military affairs, called on the students in Kington Langley, and visited a nearby textile factory with 500 workers, a steel mill and a prison.<sup>24</sup> Higashi Fushimi no Miya, a recent arrival in Britain and the first member of the Japanese Imperial family to study overseas, also visited them there.

In early 1871, the party moved to a house in Boreham Road in nearby Warminster

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- a. 杉甲一郎
  - b. 藤倉見達
  - c. 正木退蔵
  - d. 林有造

where Daniell had taken a post as curate.<sup>25</sup> One of the five, Baba Tatsui had progressed enough to attend Lord Weymouth's Grammar School, Daniell's former school where he is thought to have studied Mathematics, Geometry, Geography and History.<sup>26</sup> After six months there, he moved to London and enrolled at UCL, while the other Tosa students moved out of the area to pursue their studies elsewhere.

Meanwhile, Higashi Fushimi no Miya and his suite had also taken up residence in Warminster in early 1871, and went on to stay there for a full year.<sup>27</sup> According to Daniell, 'after His Imperial Highness, the Prince Higashi Fushimi, had spent only a few weeks in Warminster, he and his suite determined to visit Stonehenge, with the name of which they were quite familiar, having often read a description of it in Japanese books'.<sup>28</sup> In December 1871, the prince also attended the annual distribution of prizes at Lord Weymouth's Grammar School, and visited the nearby mine at Radstock in February 1872.<sup>29</sup> He even presented 'a handsome Silver Challenge Goblet, for competition' to the Tenth Wilts. (Warminster) Rifle Volunteers, and when he attended the first contest for the trophy that February, it was reported that, 'as a Volunteer Corps they felt highly honoured that the heir to the throne of Japan, who in his own country had led a victorious army to battle, had specially honoured them, and encouraged and cheered them in their path of duty'.<sup>30</sup>

While the Tosa students and Higashi Fushimi no Miya's party were there, the town of Warminster was briefly in the vanguard of the Victorian discovery of Japanese culture. After a lecture given by Daniell at the Warminster Athanaeum in October 1871 on the subject of 'Japan and its People', the Rev Prebendary Philipps commented that 'we could learn some things from the Japanese, and that there was a responsibility resting upon the townspeople to an extent, in the conduct and example which they put before the young Japanese who were now resident among us'.<sup>31</sup>

The first Japanese students at Oxford University are thought to have been Iwakura Tomotsune, son of Iwakura Tomomi, and Hachisuka Mochiaki,<sup>a</sup> both of whom are recorded as having entered Balliol College in 1874.<sup>32</sup> The circumstances surrounding the studies of Nabeshima Naohiro, the last *daimyō* of Hizen, are

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a. 岩倉具経、蜂須賀茂韶

less clear. Japanese records suggest that, having arrived with the Iwakura embassy in 1872 and toured around Britain, Nabeshima and his three travelling companions studied English at Oxford under the tuition of a certain Professor Broughton.<sup>33</sup> Nabeshima perhaps studied at Oxford without officially entering a college; a local newspaper commenting on the progress of the 102 unattached students at the university, for example, reported in 1873 that 'one of these was a Japanese, another an African from Sierra Leone'.<sup>34</sup> Another article in December 1873 shows that he, his retinue and Iwakura were already engaged in regular classes there: 'there have been five Japanese students studying law at Oxford this term, among whom are the son of the Prime Minister, and Nabishima [*sic*], one of the chief Daimios. These students manifest great zeal and aptitude for the study of English Law. They take the lectures of their tutor in English, which they translate into their own language, and submit the retranslations to his approval'.<sup>35</sup>

One notable feature of both the Hachisuka and Nabeshima parties is that they included their wives, the first women to receive passports for travel to Britain since those in the circus troupes of the late 1860s. They had relatively long stays in Britain, and Nabeshima Taneko,<sup>a</sup> for example, is known to have devoted her time in the country to learning the social graces of an English lady. Although she died young, her eldest daughter married Maeda Toshisane of Kaga and, together with Nabeshima Naohiro's second wife Nagako,<sup>b</sup> was one of the few Japanese women able to participate in the dancing at the *Rokumeikan*,<sup>c</sup> or Deer Cry Pavilion, the western-style ballroom in Tokyo used during the 1880s for entertaining foreign diplomats. Their number also included Inoue Takeko<sup>d</sup> who arrived in Britain for similar social training in 1876.<sup>36</sup>

The only Japanese student to spend any length of time at Cambridge University in the early 1870s was Kikuchi Dairoku who later went on to become the first professor of Mathematics at Tokyo University. A former *bakufu* student, Kikuchi had returned to Britain in early 1870, and enrolled again at University College School. After completing his preparatory education there, he was admitted to St John's College on 23 March 1873. He was the first Japanese student to enter Cambridge since the exceptional case of William Eaton in 1639.<sup>37</sup> After three years studying Mathematics, he graduated in 1877 as the 19th wrangler in his

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a. 鍋島胤子

b. 鍋島栄子

c. 鹿鳴館

d. 井上武子

year.<sup>38</sup> Although products of a later generation, it is interesting to note that Japanese students in Cambridge in the early years of the twentieth century were thought of as 'quick to assimilate, gentlemanly and amiable'.<sup>39</sup>

In addition to Kikuchi, Tōgō Heihachirō spent five months in Cambridge in 1872, studying Maths and English at the home of Rev. A. D. Capel, and one of his naval colleagues, Harada Sōsuke,<sup>a</sup> stayed at two different addresses there in 1874.<sup>40</sup> Nabeshima Naotora, a brother of Naohiro at Oxford, is also thought to have studied at Cambridge with his retainer Baba Takeyoshi for two years between 1873 to 1875, and Suematsu Kenchō<sup>b</sup> also arrived later in the 1870s.<sup>41</sup> Towards the end of the decade, however, there was a decline in the numbers of Japanese at both Oxford and Cambridge. In his memoirs, Nanjō Bunyū, the Buddhist scholar who arrived in Britain in 1876, described his student days in Oxford where he spent several years studying Sanskrit literature under Max Müller. Apart from the company of his colleague Kasahara Kenju<sup>c</sup> and the occasional visit from Suematsu who was then at Cambridge, the only opportunity he appears to have had of meeting the few remaining Japanese in Britain was to visit London.<sup>42</sup>

In addition to universities, some Japanese students specialising in naval studies and shipbuilding were to be found in ports around the country.<sup>43</sup> Portsmouth was often inspected by Japanese parties on tours of observation, and in 1871, Kurooka Tatewaki<sup>d</sup> became the first of several students sent by the Imperial Navy to study at the Portsmouth Royal Academy. Like Yamao in Glasgow, some students sent by their *han* also found opportunities to train in shipyards. In July 1871, Matsui Seisui,<sup>e</sup> one of the Tosa students who had stayed in Wiltshire, was recorded as studying in Portsmouth.<sup>44</sup> Fukao Baisaku,<sup>f</sup> another Tosa student, left Warminster to enrol at the Walworth House Collegiate School in Darlington before joining the Middlesbrough shipbuilding firm of Ravelton Dixon and Co. as an articulated pupil in 1873.<sup>45</sup>

Tōgō Heihachirō arrived in Britain in 1871 as one of twelve naval students sent by the Meiji government, and stayed initially in Portsmouth and Cambridge. This was a very loosely organised group, as the students often lived in separate cities and ports, partly due perhaps to the Admiralty's refusal to

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a. 原田宗助  
b. 末松謙澄  
c. 笠原研寿

d. 黒岡帶刀  
e. 松井正水  
f. 深尾貝作

admit them to the Britannia naval college as planned. Tōgō appears to have been the only one who went to study on the naval training ship *HMS Worcester* in 1873. UCL records show that some of the other naval students were intermittently registered for courses in London, and Tōgō's diary for 1874 reveals how scattered they often were. He recorded that Harada Sōsuke, in addition to staying at Cambridge, had also been in Hastings with the newly-arrived Sonoda Takakichi,<sup>a</sup> although lodged at a different address. Harada later stayed in Newcastle, though not at the same address as Hiramoto Shūjirō<sup>b</sup> who was also there.<sup>46</sup> Sasō Sachū and Yamagata Kotarō were in Hull together, while Akamine Gosaku, initially based in Greenwich with Matsuda Kinjirō, later moved to another address in Hull and was engaged at the Earle's Shipbuilding Co. in Hedon Road.<sup>c</sup> In addition to being scattered around the country, Tōgō also received letters from colleagues travelling overseas on Royal Navy ships such as Hachida Yūjirō<sup>d</sup> on board *HMS Raleigh*, and he himself went round the world on *HMS Hampshire* in 1875.<sup>47</sup>

Finally, a survey of Japanese students outside London in the 1860s and 1870s would be incomplete without a reference to Ireland. It is unclear when Japanese visitors first arrived there. Godai's party of three may have carried out their intention of visiting the exhibition in Dublin in 1865, and Kido Takayoshi certainly visited the city in 1872. In addition, travellers bound to and from America by passenger ship would sometimes see Queenstown briefly on the way. The single example of a Japanese student living in Ireland during this period, however, was that of Katsube Kan'ichi.<sup>e</sup>

Originally from Igumo in Shimane, Katsube was employed at the British Consulate in Nagasaki in the early Meiji years where he met John James Quin, an Irish interpreter in the diplomatic service. He then joined Quin when he took home leave in 1874, and travelled to his home in Forkhill, a little village near Dundalk in County Armagh. He later stayed with friends of the Quin family so as to be closer to the Mullabawne School where he enrolled in September 1874. There he received daily lessons together with pupils half his age from a certain Hewitt, and further private tuition for two hours every evening. Katsube's studies were among the most isolated of any experienced by Japanese overseas students, and he appears to have been fortunate in the degree of care,

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a. 國田孝吉

b. 平元秀次郎

c. 佐双佐仲、山県小太郎、赤嶺伍作、松田金次郎

d. 八田裕次郎

e. 勝部貞一

attention and financial support he received from the Quin family. He left in late 1875, and went on to establish a successful private school in his native Igumo, incorporating the textbooks and western learning he had encountered during his time in Ireland.<sup>48</sup>

#### Further Japanese activities

Government missions and overseas students are often assessed primarily in their diplomatic and academic contexts. The wider Japanese experience in Britain, however, involved more than tours of observation and classroom studies. The considerable influence received from men like Glover and Oliphant show that, for Japanese travellers, this could be a highly interactive experience. Through their relations with Victorian individuals, some of them lost the detached objectivity of outside observers. Whether pursued out of interest or necessity, they could perhaps unexpectedly become involved in activities or spheres of interest quite distinct from the anticipated programme of research envisaged before their departure from Japan. This can be illustrated by introducing a range of extra-curricular experiences featuring Japanese in Britain in the 1860s and 1870s. These include their financial affairs, commercial ventures, journalism, and artistic pursuits. In addition, there were some who married in London, while others became ill during their studies, or even died before they could return to Japan.

#### i) financial difficulties

One area of concern for most Japanese in Britain was the question of financing their travels. Sums considered sufficient to live comfortably in Japan for years could disappear within a matter of weeks on hotel bills and college fees. Initially, arrangements could be made to have sums deposited with banks in Yokohama or Hong Kong and redeemed later on arrival in Europe.<sup>1</sup> The letters of Machida Hisanari, director of the Satsuma students, show that he regularly received sums sent to Britain by his father in Japan. When funds from Japan evaporated, however, the Satsuma students were forced to rely on loans from Jardine Matheson & Co. until August 1867 when they were refused further credit, precipitating their departure to America. This was just one example of Japanese students borrowing to finance their studies, and by the late 1860s, as *han* funds were increasingly diverted to the needs of civil war, some students in Britain



found themselves in debt to merchants like Thomas Blake Glover.

It seems that Glover did not apply the same rules to all the students he was involved with. He offered, for example, to provide for the living expenses of Ishimaru and Mawatari during their stay in Britain, and Nomura, their travelling companion, saw them receiving money from Glover's brother in Aberdeen.<sup>2</sup> At the time, Takeda Yōjirō of Chōshū was also living there under the wing of the Glover family. When Glover & Co. went bankrupt in 1870, however, legal proceedings were begun in Nagasaki to recover the debts owing to the company in liquidation from a number of Japanese overseas students, and Takeda was recorded as the principal debtor, to the sum of 5,258.08 Mexican dollars.<sup>3</sup>

The third largest sum of 3,371.15 Mexican dollars was owed by Hattori Senzō, another Chōshū student in Aberdeen, who Laurence Oliphant had suggested was receptive to the idea of joining the Christian colony at Brocton. The second largest sum of 4,596.50 dollars was owed by Koma Rinnosuke<sup>a</sup> of Echizen who had arrived in Britain in 1868. The following year, Koma was in contact with Mōri Tōjirō and Fukuhara Shintoku,<sup>b</sup> two other Chōshū students who featured in Oliphant's plans. Together they wrote a letter to the Satsuma students in America, reassuring them that they were all right, even though they were no longer able to join them at Brocton.<sup>4</sup> It was also from about this time that Koma and the Chōshū students began to borrow heavily from H. Harrison, Glover's business associate in London. Until they resorted to a life of credit, therefore, it seems they had been short of the funds necessary to continue their studies, and Oliphant had been playing on their financial insecurity in Britain to intensify the lure of an expense-free Christian life on Harris' colony in America.

Other Japanese students who had arrived in Britain in the late 1860s were also named among Glover's debtors. These included figures of high rank and not inconsiderable financial resources such as Nakamikado Tsunetaka, Sanjō Kimiyasu, Mōri Motoisa and their respective retinues.<sup>c</sup> These debts arose from loans made by H. Harrison in London, and a bill was sent to 'the Prince of Tokuyama & Party Choshu Students to Glover & Co. in liquidation' outlining 'Mr Harrison's

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- a. 狩林之助
  - b. 福原親徳
  - c. 中御門経隆

(London) Disbursements' to a total of £223 15s 11d or \$1,099 due in 1870, a sum which had grown to \$1,329 in 1872 with interest added. A number of letters were sent from London to Sameshima Naonobu, the Japanese minister in Paris, written by retainers of these parties and explaining their version of the accounts. One of Nakamikado's companions, for example, insisted that he had already returned a sum of £175 4s 1d that he and Nakamikado had borrowed from Harrison. Koma Rinnosuke wrote to Sameshima in English in 1872, informing him that, 'as regards the Glover's bill, I must tell you, sir, that I have had nothing to do with him, ever since the end of June 1870, in proof of this I inclosed [*sic*] you, sir, herewith a portion of a letter which H. H. Harrison has sent me sometime ago'.<sup>5</sup>

Ultimately, only the debts of the Chōshū students were still considered outstanding. In a letter to Terashima dated 6 February 1875, Parkes declared that 'I have the honor [*sic*] to present a claim filed by the Trustee of the Estate of Messrs. Glover and Company, in liquidation, against the late Chōshiu Han, for expenses incurred on account of Chōshiu students, amounting to Mexican Dollars one thousand three-hundred and twenty nine, and fifty cents'. As in a number of disputes in the 1870s, responsibility had to be borne by the Meiji government, for Chōshū and all other *han* had ceased to exist.<sup>6</sup>

The demise of Glover & Co. certainly did not stop British merchants extending credit to Japanese students. Following the abolition of the *han*, Koma Rinnosuke relied on central government sponsorship to continue his studies, and found that advances for living expenses were to be received from none other than Jardine Matheson & Co. 'under an agreement with the Japanese authorities. He reported to Sameshima that, 'in the year 1872 & in the month of June we, 15 of us, borrowed the sum of £850 0 0 from Matheson & Co. and out of this sum I have spent the sum of £61 12s 7d'. As Koma explained, this latest arrangement with the Meiji government could involve some intricate calculation; 'the sum which we borrowed from Matheson & Co is, I hear, paid from our Government to that company, so that according to the note given to my brother in Japan from the O'kura shio that I have to pay to that shio 1/15 parts of that sum, but as I have stated above that I have spent £61 12s 7d, that sum, which I have to pay to the O'kura shio, I wish to be subtracted from this year's allowance'.<sup>7</sup>

## ii) commercial ventures

Overseas students with money to deposit relied on the Oriental Bank and Union Bank, although some did not trust Victorian financial services.<sup>1</sup> In the early 1870s, Ozaki Saburō was given the task of supervising Japanese students' financial interests in Britain, and later recalled that, when the Iwakura embassy arrived in 1872, many officials in the delegation received generous monthly allowances which they always carried around with them. Minami Teisuke of Chōshū saw a business opportunity in this state of affairs. After leaving the Royal Military Academy at Greenwich and returning to Japan, he had since arrived back in London and taken up a post as a director in the American Joint National Bank, a company which had just been established by the Bowles brothers from America at an imposing office in Charing Cross. According to Ozaki, Minami took home a monthly salary of £200 or the equivalent of 2,000 yen.<sup>2</sup> His task was to engage in borrowing, lending and receiving deposits, and he quickly secured the custom of many of the Japanese in London. Kido Takayoshi, for example, noted that 'many of the Japanese students and members of the [Iwakura] embassy have deposited their money in this bank. I am one of them'.<sup>3</sup>

As a result of Minami's efforts, a sum of around £24,000 was deposited by Japanese customers in London, and Ozaki became concerned when the bank also received allowances for government-sponsored students amounting to some £2,500. When he went to recover this sum, however, he found a notice outside the office announcing that business had been suspended, and Minami inside trying to placate customers who had come for their money. The Bowles brothers, meanwhile, had absconded. Kido noted on 10 November that 'Itō came to report on the trouble with the American Joint National Bank', adding that he had then 'met with Minami Teisuke and the Englishman with whom he is living to be informed of the details of the matter'. The next day, he described the resulting financial worries of the Japanese in London: 'everybody is dismayed over the trouble at the bank. The confusion is too great to be described with the writing brush'.<sup>4</sup>

The Bowles brothers were eventually subjected to a bankruptcy enquiry, but not in time to repair the travel and study plans of some of the Japanese in London. Kume Kunitake alone lost £100, and when the party of Sasaki Takayuki<sup>a</sup> visited Vienna, they found themselves temporarily unable to leave Austria after trying

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a. 佐佐木商行

to pay their hotel bill on the strength of an American Joint National Bank cheque.<sup>5</sup> 'Minami Teisuke was to be pitied' thought Ozaki, for 'he had no inkling of the swindle he was caught up in, and thought throughout that he was engaged in a sound business, but was simply used as a machine by the Americans'. He added that his standing in Japanese circles 'crashed to the ground' as a result.<sup>6</sup>

Minami was one of only a few *samurai* who were engaged in commercial activities in Britain during the 1860s and 1870s. Godai Tomoatsu of Satsuma had ambitious plans for a trading company which he formed with le Comte de Montblanc in Belgium, but although he purchased large quantities of firearms and spinning machinery in Birmingham and Manchester in 1865, this never resulted in any trade activity as such. Possibly the first attempt at trade in Britain involved members of the Hizen delegation to the Paris Exposition when they tried to make a profit out of their unsold goods late in 1867. Even after finding a French trading company to take care of 280 boxes of pottery, they still had over 100 boxes of tea and wax left; 30 boxes were disposed of in Paris, 30 were to taken to Holland, while 40 boxes were shipped to London. Fukagawa Chōemon,<sup>a</sup> a merchant travelling with the party, was sent to London where he was helped by Ishimaru and Mawatari, the two Hizen students who had previously been in Aberdeen. Supervising the venture from Paris, Koide Sennosuke was soon able to report back to Saga with the news that 'Ishimaru and Mawatari have both been making great efforts, and it seems they have managed to procure very reasonable prices for the tea and wax'. Koide also declared his intention of going to London himself, announcing that 'I mean to study the method of tea production, and will purchase firearms, military uniforms and other items before sending them on a ship bound for Nagasaki next month'. Whether or not Koide's London venture materialised is unknown.<sup>7</sup>

By the middle of the 1870s, there were early signs that some Japanese merchants were prepared to make a more concerted effort to pursue their trade in Britain. In 1876, four young merchants from Shinagawa arrived in London, three of them at the behest of British employees and one other, Awaya Michiharu,<sup>b</sup> in order to study commerce and export practice. Three of them returned to Japan three years later, although Awaya later went to America and became chairman of the Japanese

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a. 深川長右衛門

b. 栗屋道治

club in New York. They left behind Yokoyama Magoichirō<sup>a</sup> who stayed in Britain for several years, setting up the *Ōkura-kumi*<sup>b</sup> trading company.<sup>8</sup>

### iii) the Society of Japanese Students

Japanese students attended a variety of social gatherings in Britain which helped to develop their knowledge of Victorian life. On a more recreational note, Baba Tatsui, for example, was just one of several who developed a taste for the London theatre, and regularly attended performances at the Prince of Wales, the Globe, the Theatre Royal, the Haymarket and St James.<sup>1</sup> He also showed a keen interest in British current affairs, and attended sessional meetings of the Association for the Promotion of Social Science, an organisation bent on coordinating social reform, and at one time including Lord John Russell and John Stuart Mill among its members. He attended their annual conferences at least twice, at Norwich in 1873 and Brighton in 1875.<sup>2</sup> Both he and Hara Rokurō were active participants at the Brighton conference, speaking out against the extraterritorial rights of foreigners in Japan. The Brighton Herald noted that there had been 'an interesting paper, prepared by Mr. N.R. Hara, on the 'State of the Consular Courts in Japan', upon which subject a second Japanese gentleman (Baba) also spoke'.<sup>3</sup> A later edition reported that, after an attack on the opium trade 'in fluent English' by a Mr Choy from China, 'a Japanese, Mr. Tatui Babi [*sic*] followed with an account of the evils of opium smoking'.<sup>4</sup>

In September 1873, Baba's experience of meetings emphasising free debate and exchange of views encouraged him to form, together with another Tosa student, Ono Azusa,<sup>c</sup> an organisation known as the *Nihon Gakusei Kai*,<sup>d</sup> or the Society of Japanese Students. The group met once a month at a number of locations in London such as the Golden Cross, Bedford and Caledonian hotels, and later in Sugiura Jūgō's lodgings at No 190 Stanhope Place.<sup>e</sup> The society is thought to have still been in existence in 1886, and a total of 29 students are known to have been members, though at least ten more may have been involved.<sup>5</sup>

According to Sakurai Jōji<sup>f</sup> who arrived in 1876, 'the only organisation which gave the students in Britain at the time an opportunity to meet was the Society of Japanese Students'. He later recalled that 'the objective in establishing the society was, firstly, to bring the students together and, secondly, in order to

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a. 横山 孫一郎  
b. 大倉 組  
c. 小野 梓

d. 日本学生会  
e. 杉浦重剛  
f. 桜井 錠二

polish their English skills'.<sup>6</sup> Members would take turns to prepare speeches on their chosen subjects followed by debates in English. Nanjō Bunyū, another member, recalled that 'the papers would be read out in English first for practice, and then read through again in Japanese'.<sup>7</sup> The society also had a political dimension in that it brought together students who had unparalleled access to contemporary ideas in Victorian society. Through their efforts, some of these were introduced to Japan where they influenced the movement for the promotion of liberal rights. Following his return, for example, Ono Azusa used the Society of Japanese Students as a model for his *Kyōzon Dōshū* organisation which figured prominently in the circulation of liberal ideas in Japan.<sup>a</sup>

Baba's student society was formed at a time when there were numerous potential members in Britain. As their numbers dwindled thereafter, it became the focal point of communication for the few students still left. Arriving in the later 1870s, Sakurai Jōji was apparently unaware of the boom in overseas travel just a matter of years before. According to him, there was just a handful of Japanese in the country, 'living for five or six years there, or in the case of some like Nanjō for ten or more. At the time there were still less than twenty young students in the whole of Britain, with no Mitsubishi, no mailboat company, no Specie Bank or *Ōkura-kumi*'. In his view, 'it was the camaraderie of the Society of the Japanese Students that gave us the strength to persist in our endeavours'.<sup>8</sup>

#### iv) published works and journalism

Several Japanese students such as Baba Tatsui and Kikuchi Dairoku felt motivated to venture into the world of journalism in the early 1870s. They wrote papers in English introducing their own perspectives to the British reading public on a range of political issues. Baba even published a textbook under the title of *An Elementary Grammar of the Japanese Language, with Easy Progressive Exercises* (Trübner & Co., London 1873). This is thought to have been the first attempt made at compiling an organised grammar of spoken Japanese.<sup>1</sup> The work met with some success, and in the preface to the third edition in 1904, Arthur Diosy recalled practicing the phrases he had acquired from the book on a Japanese gentleman at the Lyceum in 1876 who turned out to be none other than Baba himself.<sup>2</sup>

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a. 共存同榮

The work was planned as a riposte to Mori Arinori's calls for English to be used as Japan's national language, criticising Japanese as 'a weak and uncertain medium of communication'.<sup>3</sup> In the foreword, Baba showed an awareness of cultural imperialism, citing the words of Mary Carpenter that adopting English in Japan would divide the educated and uneducated as had already occurred in India.<sup>4</sup> He had some knowledge of British rule in India, and his diary shows that he and other Japanese students had contact with the National Indian Association, an organisation comparable to the Society of Japanese Students which had been founded by Carpenter in 1871. On one occasion, for example, he helped arrange for a party of Japanese, including Nabeshima Taneko and her maid, Kitajima Itoko,<sup>a</sup> to join a tour of the Tower of London which had been organised by the National Indian Association. As a student at the Middle Temple, he was particularly well-placed to meet Indian students in London, the majority of whom were studying Law at the Inns of Court. They were particularly concentrated at the Middle Temple where the deposit required to enrol was smaller than elsewhere.

Baba made the most sustained attempts of any Japanese writer to influence the attitudes of the British reading public, launching vehement attacks on extraterritorial rights and the behaviour of British merchants in the treaty ports. In 1875, he published a pamphlet at his own expense under the title of *The English in Japan, What a Japanese Thought and Thinks about Them*. In 1876, he published another pamphlet on *The Treaty Between Japan and England*. These works apparently failed to make the impact he had hoped for, and Helen Ballhatchet has suggested that he drifted away from the Association for the Promotion of Social Science at around this time for want of a more positive response. A review even suggested 'that the pamphlet was really an indirect attack on Christianity by an Englishman pretending to be Japanese'.<sup>5</sup>

There were also other printed attacks on western religion, and a letter from 'a Japanese student' appeared in *The Times* in 1873, criticising the activities of Christian missionaries in Japan. 'It may seem a strange thing, Sir, to the zealous propagators of Christianity', it declared, 'but it is nevertheless a fact that the native religion is one to which the Japanese people are profoundly attached, and with some justification from experience'. The writer

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a. 北島以登子

concluded that people in Japan often formed a negative impression of Christianity, 'founded on many representatives of the religion who come to us both from California and from Europe, and who could well be spared from our seaports'.<sup>6</sup>

The publication in English of works like this reveal a degree of student politicisation during the course of the Japanese experience in Britain. Motivated by an underlying sense of injustice against British activities in Asia, some students developed radical and informed arguments which they deliberately voiced for maximum effect through the same media and in the same terms that were employed by the Victorians. While Indians nurtured grievances against colonial rule and Chinese attacked the opium trade, Japanese students in Britain found that the Christian virtue and Victorian values which they were often exhorted to absorb during their years in Britain differed significantly from the standards of behaviour they had observed among merchants and missionaries in the treaty ports. This training provided impetus to Japanese arguments for the revision of the unequal treaty. It was thus no coincidence that the *Kyōzon Dōshū* society which Ono Azusa formed in 1873 specifically for students returning from Britain was to play an active role in articulating the campaign against the unequal treaties.

The most singular adventure in the field of journalism was the launch of the first Japanese language newspaper in Britain in January 1873. This was not the first example outside Japan, for in 1868 and 1870, Léon de Rosny had briefly produced a journal called *YO-NO OUVASA*<sup>a</sup> in Paris.<sup>7</sup> It nevertheless merited an article in *The Times* which announced that 'a native Japanese newspaper is now being published in London under the imposing name of the *Tai Sei Shimbun* or *Great Western News*.<sup>b</sup> The first number has appeared. It is edited by a Japanese resident in London'.<sup>8</sup> This was none other than Minami Teisuke who, within months of losing his career in banking, had turned his hand to newspapers instead.<sup>9</sup>

According to a prospectus quoted in *The Times*, the *Taisei Shinbun* was intended 'to serve as a means of communicating further knowledge of Western arts and policy among the millions of Japanese who are now desirous of learning all they

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a. 「世のうわさ」

b. 「大西新聞」



can of foreign nations. It is proposed, therefore, to publish immediately a newspaper, which shall clearly reflect the opinions of Japanese who have seen the world and learnt European languages for the benefit of their countrymen in their Fatherland'. Implicit in the adventure, therefore was an awareness of the value of overseas experience to education in Japan. It was announced that selected articles in European newspapers would 'be translated carefully into Japanese under the superintendence of Professor Summers, of King's College, who will act as co-editor. A circulation of 1,000 copies will be guaranteed for the first three months, after which probably a larger number will be required. A portion of this number will be circulated among the 700 Japanese residents in Europe and America, and the remainder forwarded to Nagasaki, Osacca, Yokohama, and Yedo, for circulation in the Japanese Empire'.

The Rev James Summers (1828-91) had long pursued an interest in Japanese affairs. Born in Kent, he had spent several years in China, and became a professor of Chinese at King's College in 1852 at the age of 25. It was in his *Chinese and Japanese Repository*, 1864-65 that Ernest Satow, a former pupil, had published his translation of Ichikawa Wataru's diary. Between 1870 and 1873, he had produced another journal entitled *Phoenix, a Monthly Magazine for China, Japan & Eastern Asia*, featuring articles by Satow, Mitford, Aston and Japanese students like Kikuchi Dairoku.<sup>10</sup> The *Taisei Shinbun* office was set up at No 3 George Yard, Lombard Street. Narushima Ryūhoku<sup>a</sup> paid a visit in May 1873, and recorded, perhaps mistakenly, that a journal known as *Tōhō Shinbun*<sup>b</sup> was printed there.<sup>11</sup> The newspaper, however, was not long-lived. One factor in its demise may have been an invitation made to Summers by Terashima Munenori shortly afterwards, offering him a post as professor of English Literature and Philosophy at the *Kaiseijō* college. Summers signed a contract to that effect on 2 June 1873.<sup>12</sup> As for Minami Teisuke, his experience of journalism in London proved to be as shortlived as his career in banking, and he returned to Japan himself later in 1873.<sup>13</sup>

The first and only surviving edition of the *Taisei Shinbun* was issued on 30 January, 1873, and sold for one shilling, or for an annual subscription of eight and a half shillings. It consisted of eight pages with illustrations reprinted from *The Leisure Hour*. Articles included an editorial by Summers, a Japanese

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a. 成島 柳北

b. 「東方新聞」

version of the prospectus that appeared in *The Times*, a report on the recent death of Napoleon III, a historical introduction to Windsor Castle and a description of Niagara Falls. Also featured were tax revisions in Parliament, the latest crime figures and statistics relating to the Royal Navy. There were even some illustrated advertisements, presumably targeting a Japanese market in both Europe and the Far East. These were placed by firms like Peacock & Buchan, manufacturers of ships' bottoms, John & Henry Gwynne, Engineers, and Elliott & Fry, a photographic company at Talbotype Gallery in Baker Street, which announced that a collection of their work was to appear in the next edition. Preparations were thus under way for later issues which may not have materialised. Perhaps the most intriguing advertisement was placed privately, announcing that 'board and lodging is available to Japanese ladies for the sum of £100 (500 ryō) a year', and that enquiries should be addressed to the editors.<sup>14</sup>

#### v) artistic pursuits

Although research into the arts was rarely a priority at the outset of the voyage to Europe, some Japanese students developed a keen artistic interest during their years in Britain. This could be expressed either in contributing to the growing Victorian interest in Japanese art, or by introducing western art to Japan. Some of the Satsuma students who arrived in 1865 became involved in artistic circles, in spite of the fact that they had been ordered overseas primarily to study subjects relating to military affairs. Machida Hisanari, the director of the students, for example, stayed in London throughout the summer of 1866 because of his desire to study more closely the museums in the Victorian capital. Machida later proposed the construction of a Japanese museum at Ueno, the forerunner of the modern Tokyo Museum and became the first curator there.<sup>1</sup>

Other Satsuma students, meanwhile, had been discovered by British artists in London. Tanita Hiroyuki has demonstrated how a meeting was arranged in 1866 between Hatakeyama Yoshinari and Yoshida Kiyonari, and the Rossetti brothers, the central figures of the pre-Raphaelite 'Rossetti Circle'.<sup>2</sup> This group was at the forefront of 'Victorian Japonism', the wave of interest in Japanese art at the time. This was given impetus by Rutherford Alcock's collection of 614

pieces on display at the London exhibition in 1862, and by the opening of the Oriental Warehouse by A.L. Liberty in Regent Street. In 1863, W. M. Rossetti published two essays in the *Reader* on the themes of Japanese woodblock prints and Hokusai, and his older brother Gabriel actually bought some Hokusai works in Paris.<sup>3</sup> In early 1866, the circle's fascination with Japan was at its height, and at a time when there were just fourteen Japanese travellers in London, they naturally took a keen interest in Hatakeyama and Yoshida.

It was the painter George Leslie (1835-1921) who first made contact with the Satsuma students, and arrangements were then made by the watercolour artist George Price Boyce (1826-1897) for them to meet the Rossetti brothers. In a letter to W. M. Rossetti in February 1866, Boyce wrote that 'two Japanese youths - well bred & writing & speaking & understanding a little English - are coming here to tea at 7 tomorrow week, march 7. I think you would like to meet them. I'll be glad if you can. George Leslie (who introduced me to them) is coming & I've written to Gabriel but mean to ask no one else, so that they may not be bothered. They come as early as 7 as they are hard at work at University College & don't like to be late of nights. Their names are Nagai (Yoshida) and Soogiwoora (Hatakeyama) & their prince is Satsuma'.<sup>4</sup> 40 years later, W. M. Rossetti wrote in his memoirs that he had known two or three Japanese, including a friend of Boyce called Nagai. According to his recollections, he also knew Sanjō Kimiyasu and Oshikōji Kazumaru around 1871,<sup>a</sup> and Oshikōji once wrote him a Japanese letter which Sanjō had translated for him.<sup>5</sup>

In the 1870s, some Japanese students in London began to look beyond the academic subjects their *han* had sent them to research, and developed an interest in western painting. This was perhaps facilitated by the fact that Bayswater, one of the areas in which students were most concentrated, was also the chosen home of some prominent Victorian painters. The first student known to have specialised in the study of art was Kunizawa Shinkurō of Tosa,<sup>b</sup> one of the five students who had stayed in Kington Langley in 1870. Like Baba Tatsui, he had then moved to London but, after failing health prevented him from studying Law, he took up oil painting instead.<sup>6</sup> He was taught by John Edgar Williams, a portrait artist who lived near Hyde Park and who exhibited at the Royal Academy between 1846 and 1883. Listed among Williams' works is a portrait of Higashi

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a. 押小路三丸

b. 国沢新九郎

Fushimi no Miya.<sup>7</sup> Although not the most talented artist, Kunizawa is credited with having been a pioneer of oil painting in Japan. A year after his return in 1873, he founded the *Shōgidō*<sup>a</sup> art school in Tokyo where he organised some of the first exhibitions of western-style art to be held in Japan. Kunizawa claimed that his artistic pursuits were motivated by nationalistic sentiment. He thought that visual images surpassed the written word as a medium of conveying new knowledge from overseas, thus making the promotion of art essential to the future prosperity of Japan. He died in 1877 at the age of 30, four years after leaving Britain.<sup>8</sup>

Two other students who discovered western painting in Britain were Hyakutake Kaneyuki and Nabeshima Taneko<sup>b</sup> from Hizen, both members of Nabeshima Naohiro's retinue on his second visit there in 1874. Hyakutake had studied at Oxford with Nabeshima during his first stay, but on this occasion, the Nabeshima party spent much of their time based in London. Nabeshima Taneko is thought to have initially studied art as part of her efforts to acquire the social skills of a western lady, and this may have led Hyakutake to develop his own interest in painting. Although it was Hyakutake who went on to become the more active artist, the renowned Kuroda Seiki<sup>c</sup> also rated Taneko's work highly, describing her as the first female oil painter of note in Japan.<sup>9</sup>

From the Nabeshimas' large house at No 41 Clanricarde Gardens in Bayswater, Hyakutake was a ten-minute walk away from his tutor, Thomas Miles Richardson Junior (1813-90), who lived close to Hyde Park at No 12 Porchester Terrace.<sup>10</sup> A landscape artist from Newcastle, Richardson exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1837, 1842 and 1848, and was fond of painting the Italian countryside and Scottish Highland scenes. Hyakutake may have joined him on his regular visits to Scotland, and during the journey north in 1878, he painted Barnard Castle in County Durham.<sup>11</sup> He also became the first Japanese artist to have his work exhibited at the Royal Academy when his *View near Yokohama in Japan* was put on display during the summer exhibition in 1876.<sup>12</sup>

Hyakutake later stayed in Paris, and when Nabeshima Naohiro became ambassador to Italy, he joined him there as a career diplomat. Almost all of his work was painted outside Japan and, unlike Kunizawa, he thus made little impact on the

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- a. 彰枝堂
  - b. 百武兼行
  - c. 黒田清輝

development of western painting in Japan, even though he was the more competent artist. A studious painter who set out to master each genre he used, he had an ability to synthesise diverse styles, for while he extensively applied the techniques he had learnt in Europe, he managed to retain a characteristically Japanese sense of outline in his work.<sup>13</sup>

#### vi) rites of passage

Over and above their academic research, perhaps the greatest impact of all was made on those students whose years in Britain irrevocably affected their domestic lives. For example, there were two cases of Japanese students who married British women during the period, both of which eventually ended in divorce. Although marriage to foreign nationals was not legally recognised in Japan until March 1873, Ozaki Saburō and Minami Teisuke made their vows in 1869 and 1872 respectively.<sup>1</sup> Ozaki and Minami had much in common, not least because they omitted important details from their memoirs. Minami, for example, recalled nothing of his humiliating experience as a director in the pay of the Bowles brothers, while Ozaki managed to write an extensive autobiography without once referring to his twelve-year marriage with Bathia Morrison, an omission his grandson considered 'deplorable'.<sup>2</sup> His grandson also suggested that the later divorce proceedings were carried out at such length and with such acrimony between the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (*Gaimushō*)<sup>a</sup> and the Foreign Office, that they perhaps ruined Ozaki's chances of fulfilling his potential in the Meiji administration.

Details of Ozaki's case are apparent from a series of long and bitter letters that Theodore Lewis, a family friend of the Morrises, sent to the *Gaimushō* some years later. He described how William M. Morrison, a distinguished linguist at Cambridge, met the 28 year-old Ozaki after his arrival in Britain in 1868. Morrison had left Cambridge to become a private tutor and was much sought after by Japanese students; 'two among them became boarders in his house, one Mr. Sanjo son of the Prime Minister of Japan then quite a youth, the other many years older Mr. Ozaki'. According to Lewis, Sanjō Kimiyasu still remained on friendly terms with the Morrises, 'is aware of the circumstances of this case and has expressed a very decided opinion - not favourable to Mr. Ozaki'. He recalled that 'it was not long after the latter's residence in Mr. Morrison's

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a. 外務省

house before an attachment sprung up between Mr. Ozaki and Mr. Morrison's only daughter Bathia and they were married by license on the 4th March 1869'.<sup>3</sup> According to Ozaki's grandson, the couple quickly had several children. The first child, a boy, was stillborn, but there followed three healthy girls, Eiko, Masako and Kimiko.<sup>4</sup>

Ozaki's marriage encountered problems when he returned to Japan in 1873 without his wife and children. In Japan, it was thought that she had refused to join him. Lewis refuted this claim, however, insisting that 'Mrs. Ozaki was never asked to go with her husband to Japan upon his first return there after his marriage'.<sup>5</sup> Ozaki occasionally sent her money, and Bathia joined him in St. Petersburg when he was posted there in 1880. She then refused to return with him to Japan because Ozaki had since taken a Japanese wife. According to Lewis, 'she was given to understand that he had married again out there and that by the laws of the country he could have two ladies residing with him in the house'.<sup>6</sup> In 1881, a divorce was privately agreed and signed, granting her an income of £66 per annum until 1888, but relieving Ozaki of any responsibilities thereafter. Through the intervention of Lewis and the *Gaimushō*, a further agreement was negotiated and signed in 1889, guaranteeing Bathia an annual alimony of 250 yen. Ozaki's career may indeed have been affected by the impact of Bathia, but he was still appointed head of the Legislative Bureau in 1891.

Unlike Ozaki, Minami Teisuke openly declared his marriage to the Japanese authorities, although he did wait until the practice had been legalised. In May 1873, he announced that 'on 20 September last year I married Liza Pitman, the fourth daughter of Charles Pitman from Dulwich in Britain', and submitted a Japanese translation of a marriage certificate issued by Kensington Registry Office.<sup>7</sup> He noted in his statement that he had already informed leading members of the Iwakura embassy, and later explained that, 'ever since I had gone abroad to study, I had argued that our race could be improved by mixing Japanese blood with British. When I made my case to Iwakura, Itō and Ōkubo, I was told by Itō that the time had not yet arrived for such a plan'. Ōkubo assured him that it would be 'permissible as long as I spent several more years in Britain, and so the matter was settled'. He was warned, however, that 'as this was not yet legal in Japan, it might be dangerous for the two of us to proceed directly to

Japan together'.<sup>8</sup>

According to the translation of their marriage certificate, Minami Teisuke and Liza Pitman were 24 and 23 years old respectively, and lived at No 5 Canning Place in Kensington.<sup>9</sup> Even if he had been planning to stay in Britain, Minami's business failures may have prompted his return to Japan. Within two months of his marriage, Minami's career as a director with the Joint American National Bank had ended abruptly with the bankruptcy of the Bowles brothers. He recovered quickly to organise the *Taisei Shinbun* newspaper with Rev J. Summers in January 1873, but this venture also lasted only a few months at most, and he left for Japan later that year, taking Liza Pitman with him. There they had two sons and three daughters but, according to Minami, Liza made no attempt to adapt to Japanese culture, and after ten troubled years, their marriage ended in divorce in 1883.<sup>10</sup> Minami went on to pursue various business ventures, and served for a while as Japanese consul in Hong Kong.

The cases of Ozaki and Minami were the only two liaisons between Japanese students and British women to have developed as far as marriage during the 1860s and 1870s. They nevertheless carry a greater significance than their numbers suggest, as there were certainly several other liaisons of varying intensity that passed by mostly unrecorded. During the 1870s, for example, Oki Morikata<sup>a</sup> of Tottori spent seven years in Britain, and carefully preserved his correspondence with a certain Isabella Hodges who wrote to him from St. Andrew's Vicarage in Hackney.<sup>11</sup> One day, he also drew some delicate sketches, labelling them 'Miss Hodges reading in gardens, June 21 1876' and 'a view from St Andrew's Vicarage'. Such images of fleeting moments may have been among the most vivid and longlasting memories of the British experience that some students took back with them to Japan.

The awareness of time passing, however, was perhaps felt most acutely by those who fell victim to serious illness. A number of students suffered from ill health in Britain, often related to consumption. During his stay in 1872, for example, Kido Takayoshi described the case of the young Sanjō Kimiyasu who, by then, had already spent five years in London: 'The Prince has been ill with chest trouble since last year. The doctor is opposed to his staying in England;

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a. 沖守固

but the Prince does not want to return to Japan. He has resigned himself to dying here, and intends to continue his studies'.<sup>12</sup> To the relief of Sanjō's retainers, Kido persuaded him to change his mind, and the following month, he returned temporarily to Japan.<sup>13</sup>

Some students were unable to return, and five are known to have died in Britain during these years.<sup>14</sup> Four were buried at Brookwood Cemetery in Woking. Their funeral arrangements appear to have been organised by the same Professor Williamson of UCL who admitted the first students from Chōshū and Satsuma to his Analytical Chemistry classes in the mid-1860s. Williamson himself was buried there, although he died years later in 1904.

Yamazaki Kosaburō of Chōshū died on 6 March 1866. Together with Minami Teisuke and Takeda Yōjirō, he had escaped from Japan in 1865 with the help of Glover. While Takeda made his way to Aberdeen and borrowed heavily from Glover & Co, Yamazaki and Minami settled into a life of penury in London. They had paid 1,000 ryō for their passage, but had no other money, and waited in vain for funds to be sent from Chōshū. Minami remembered that, during their stay with a painter called Cooper at No 103 Gower Street, 'we had no money at all for food or clothing, wore the same clothes all the time and had no fire in our room, even in the depths of winter'.<sup>15</sup> Minami eventually managed to arrange credit with H. H. Harrison, but not in time to save Yamazaki whose condition had already deteriorated. Although he was taken into the Williamsons' home, he died shortly afterwards. An obituary in the *London & China Express* announced 'the death of a young Japanese officer who came to this country for educational purposes. Yamasuki [*sic*] Kosaburo was a native of the province of Nagato, and belonged to the retinue of the Daimyo of that name. His death, at the age of 22 years was caused by consumption. His remains were interred at Woking, the funeral being attended by Professor Williamson and twelve Japanese students of the University College'.<sup>16</sup>

The second Japanese student to be buried at Brookwood was Arifuku Jirō<sup>a</sup> from Tokuyama. He had arrived in Britain in June 1868 as a retainer in the party of Mōri Motoisa and was hoping to study military affairs, but he soon fell ill and died on 13 August the same year. Similarly, Fukuoka Morito<sup>b</sup> from Tosa

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a. 有福次郎

b. 福岡守人



arrived in October 1871 and, after two years in Britain, died on 3 March 1873 at the age of 21. The fourth student to be buried there was Fukuro Kuhei (real name Koga Gotarō)<sup>a</sup> from Taku in Hizen. He had spent two years in Berlin, but caught tuberculosis before he could make his way back to Japan. He died in Bayswater on 2 November 1873 at the age of 24.<sup>17</sup>

The only other Japanese student known to have died in Britain during these years was Fukao Baisaku from Tosa. After leaving Warminster, he had gone on to study shipbuilding in Middlesbrough. When training was over on 14 November 1873, he was walking along the dockwall with a friend, a draughtsman called Elliott. He accidentally walked over the edge of the dock and drowned, in spite of Elliott's efforts to save him. Fukao's grave is at Darlington West Cemetery. He was eighteen years old.<sup>18</sup>

A cross and a quote from the scriptures are inscribed on Fukuoka Morito's grave at Brookwood, indicating that he may have converted to Christianity during his years in Britain. This raises the question as to the extent to which Japanese students were influenced by Christianity. There are famous examples of conversions, such as the Satsuma students who went on to live a Christian life at Harris' colony in America, and Nakamura Masanao who was later baptised as a Methodist in 1874, but few cases were enduring. While many travellers, particularly in the 1860s, still retained the deep-seated suspicion of Christianity which had characterised the Edo period, some concluded that there must be positive aspects to a faith that had contributed to the establishment of hospitals, schools for the blind and deaf and other social institutions that impressed them during their tours of observation. Even the anonymous Japanese student who attacked the activities of missionaries in *The Times* in 1873 admitted that 'those of us who visit the West see much to admire in Christianity'.<sup>19</sup>

Such an interpretation can only have been strengthened by Victorians around them who, as newspaper articles reveal, consciously displayed their technical achievements partly with a view to fostering a favourable impression of Christianity in Japan. Moreover, a significant proportion of those who extended their hospitality to Japanese students, like Rev W. V. Lloyd in London, Rev J. J.

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a. 袋久平 (占賀護太郎)

Daniell in Wiltshire and Rev A. D. Capel in Cambridge, were members of the clergy themselves. Diaries show that visits to church on Sunday were quite frequent, and some students thought an appreciation of Christianity was essential in order to gain a more comprehensive understanding of western civilization. This perception was evident in Nakamura Masanao's *Gi Taiseijin Jōsho* [Memorial on the Imitation of Westerners]<sup>a</sup> in 1871 in which he declared that, 'to attempt to adopt the Western forms without Christianity was to seek to import the fruits of Western civilization without planting in Japan the tree that bore the fruit'.<sup>20</sup> In contrast, critics like Nakai Hiroshi and Nakamigawa Hikojirō in the 1870s were increasingly pointing out the disparity between Victorian morality in theory and that in practice on the streets of London. Japanese travellers could show quite diverse reactions to the religion they found in Britain, but often those who lived in the country for an extended period at least recognised its significance, such as Nomura Fumio when he observed with studied detachment that Christianity was one of the pillars of Victorian society.

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Japanese experiences in Britain during the 1860s and 1870s progressed through distinct phases following their arrival. First impressions of London and the surrounding area could provide an introduction to the social problems of a rapidly changing Victorian world which perhaps came as a surprise after observing such technological wonders as steam trains and telegraph lines in British colonies during the voyage from Asia. The tours of observation many embarked upon following their arrival afforded them more impressive glimpses of Victorian industrial prowess, and in addition to readily accessible tourist sites, they were generously shown the inner workings of mines, factories and shipyards.

Tours of observation also formed an integral part of the research for newly-arrived students. They would soon move out of hotel accommodation, however, and settle into cheaper lodgings more suited to the needs of longer-term research. The greatest concentration of students was in London, and many found lodgings in districts like Bayswater and Camden Town. These areas were conveniently

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a. 「擬泰西人上書」

close to University College which admitted more Japanese students during these years than any other educational institution in Europe or America.

The spread of Japanese students to other towns in Britain from the mid-1860s was directly linked to personal connections often formed in the treaty ports before they had left Japan. It was because of Thomas Glover in Nagasaki that at least ten Japanese travellers are known to have stayed in Aberdeen between 1865 and 1867 alone, and seven of them lived there as students. It was through Rev J. J. Daniell's hospitality that the first Japanese students to live in England outside London should have been based at Kington Langley, a little village in Wiltshire, and only a personal friendship with the diplomat John Quin could account for the decision of one student, Katsube Kan'ichi, to pursue his research in a village near Dundalk in Ireland. The personal connections that Yamao Yōzō developed during his student days in Glasgow also became an important factor in establishing Glasgow University as a centre of learning for Japanese engineers initially trained by Scots at the Imperial College of Engineering in Tokyo.

While many students like Katsube were fortunate in their choice of protector during their stay in Britain, personal connections also carried potential risks, as they placed trust in individuals whose motives few can have fathomed very deeply, if at all, bearing in mind the language barriers involved. Many Victorian mentors appear to have repaid their trust, and lifelong friendships endured. Others treated the Japanese in their care with their own interests foremost in mind, such as Rev W.V. Lloyd who, even if he did not embezzle *bakufu* funds intended for his students, clearly used them to advance his own status. Laurence Oliphant, meanwhile, professed a selfless desire to save students from the greed of merchants, but took advantage of their financial insecurity in order to promote the development of his chosen religious sect in America.

The most vulnerable students were those with financial problems. Although some like Nabeshima Naohiro and Hachisuka Mochiaki were rich enough to support large retinues in sizeable houses, financing their overseas research was a recurring problem for many students. This was exacerbated by an unfavourable exchange rate,

and also fluctuating conditions in Japan. Many students were disappointed to discover that funds were no longer available from the same *han* or *bakufu* administrations that had sent them overseas. Many more experienced similar problems following the *haihan chiken* order that abolished the *han* in 1871. The ramifications of this reform were to become apparent as it served to curtail the boom in the number of overseas students in the early 1870s.

Those Japanese students who died in Britain were also victims of circumstance. Their end was sadly predictable in that the fear of never again treading the soil of Japan was often expressed in the diaries of travellers leaving for Europe. Whether or not this was simply a literary device used to give an added sense of pathos to their grand overseas adventures, financial problems, polluted European cities and an unfamiliar climate could, on occasion, combine to realise their deepest fears.

Circumstances like these show how misleading it is to characterise the experiences of Japanese students in Britain only in terms of single-minded research, simply accumulating knowledge to be applied later in Japan. Many of their activities do not fit naturally into either diplomatic or academic categories, and did not necessarily lead to later achievements in Japan. While they may not represent a common Japanese experience, the singular activities of some individuals do serve to indicate the parameters of Japanese involvement in British society during these formative years of cultural exchange. Furthermore, they reveal the degree to which both the circumstances of early overseas travel and their interaction with Victorian individuals shaped their experience of Britain, sometimes resulting in spheres of interest far removed from their originally intended programme of research.

By the 1870s, for example, there were enough Japanese in Britain to encourage Baba Tatsui to form his own debating society in London. While this organisation has received attention for its influence on the developing campaign for liberal rights in Japan, it was valued by its members at the time more as a lifeline of communication in a distant land. There were also enough Japanese overseas to encourage an ambitious figure like Minami Teisuke to embark on his ill-fated ventures in the world of finance and journalism. His short-lived experience as

a director in a London bank was a matter of notoriety at the time, and his *Taisei Shinbun* newspaper, the first ever Japanese language newspaper in Britain, reflected overseas students' thirst for knowledge. Like his failed marriage, and that of Ozaki, these may have become largely forgotten episodes, but they were landmarks in the cultural interaction of the Japanese in Britain. Similarly, the appearance of Hyakutake Kaneyuki's 'View near Yokohama' among the exhibits at the Royal Academy was a singular advance in the artistic dialogue between Japan and the outside world as a whole.

Japanese students' encounters with Christianity were sometimes influential in shaping their own political consciousness. Until the 1860s, much of the background of Japanese *tansaku* research had viewed Britain in largely amoral terms as a civilization based on technological and commercial progress. When students discovered Victorian moral values at first-hand, many also noticed the extent to which the British fell short of their own ideals. The moral self-righteousness exemplified by the Victorian press' comments on Japanese tours of observations could provoke negative political reactions among students in Britain, reinforced by their own observations in the streets of London and treaty ports. In addition to financial hardship, such scepticism helps to explain how, in the late 1860s, a figure like Laurence Oliphant who nursed his own grievances against the British political establishment was able to win the sympathy of so many Japanese students. In the 1870s, the Society of Japanese Students allowed them to pool their cultural experiences, and some found that the Victorians' own sense of moral responsibility could be invoked as a political tool in attacking what they saw as the injustice of European and American colonial and economic expansion in Asia.

These essentially defensive responses could also be instrumental in the development of more nationalist perspectives. Overseas study always had the potential to foster a patriotic reaction and a more defined national identity, an experience not limited to the Japanese in Britain. In Harrell's view, the Chinese students who flooded into Japan in the last years of the 19th century had additional freedoms just by being away from home, and their life there 'gave them new perspectives on themselves as Chinese, on China's prospects for development, and on how to meet the challenge of the West'.<sup>1</sup> For many Japanese

students, life in Britain played an important part in overcoming provincial factionalism. Other overseas students had a comparable experience and, according to Lahiri, one Indian not only met non-Bengalis for the first time on equal terms in Britain, but 'experienced a major shift in identity; no longer just a Bengali he was an Indian as well'.<sup>2</sup> For most Japanese students, their provincial identity was complicated by the *bakuhau* political affiliations of the Edo period and their class awareness as *samurai*. Their identity as members of a natural ruling class usually survived their experience in Britain. Viewed from so far away and in conversation with their Victorian contacts, however, discussion of current affairs in Japan enabled many to discover and reinforce a protective attachment to their homeland on a national level, over and above traditional *samurai* loyalties to their provincial *daimyō*.

English newspaper articles describing Japanese activities in Britain during the 1860s and 1870s give an impression of diplomatic missions diligently making endless tours of observation tours and responding with gracious thanks to the hospitality they received. The Japanese experience in Britain, however, was a more dangerous exercise and subject to more risk than these reports suggest. The task of adjusting to Victorian society was a more than usually difficult ordeal for the many students handicapped by financial worries. Such insecurity was derived largely from the political volatility within both central government and the respective *han* in Japan. It was also accentuated by the sharp increase in the numbers of Japanese in Britain following the end of the civil war in Japan. By 1876, however, there were considerably fewer Japanese in the country, and most of these were either receiving fixed amounts of government support or had access to private funds. Although they were able to enjoy a more settled existence as a result, they were more isolated than at the beginning of the decade when almost every region and *han* in Japan was represented on the streets of London.

## Chapter Five: Return to Japan

For travellers in Britain, the decision to return to Japan was frequently influenced by domestic circumstances. This was particularly noticeable in the early 1870s when the Meiji government controversially recalled most of the students overseas. The numbers of Japanese in Britain were significantly reduced as a result, and the shortlived boom in overseas travel during the early Meiji years came to an end. Many of those returning from Britain, however, went on to make a significant impact in Meiji Japan. Overseas experience was increasingly considered an advantageous factor in applying for government posts, and a number of them became influential figures in the central administration. Others strove to circulate ideas they had encountered during their travels to a wide audience through a diverse range of activities.

The results of *tansaku* research that appeared in published form represented the most systematic attempts to introduce western society to Japanese readers. There were, however, other works published by Japanese travellers after returning from Britain, many of which consciously attempted to inform their readers on subjects they had discovered during the course of their overseas experiences. A number of those returning from abroad also took an active interest in journalism, contributing articles to the numerous new magazines and newspapers formed during the early Meiji years. Another forum of communication was political activity, notably in the campaign for the promotion of liberal rights. Alternatively, several travellers returning from Britain founded and taught in schools, influencing both their students and the development of education in Japan.

### Domestic circumstances and the return to Japan

Of the hundreds of travellers who stayed in Britain during the 1860s and 1870s, some succeeded in returning to Japan as planned, having satisfactorily completed their given mission or course of studies. For many, however, their investigations were unexpectedly curtailed or drastically revised as a result of changing political circumstances at home. In spite of being so far from their native land, students were often dependent on the uninterrupted supply of funds from benefactors in Japan, and made constant efforts to glean as much

information as they could about recent events in East Asia.

Changes in domestic circumstances could force students to abandon their research in Britain. During the late 1860s, it was the lack of funds from their *han* that had directly led to the remaining Satsuma students seeking the protection of Thomas Lake Harris at his Christian colony in America. News of the overthrow of the *bakufu* shortly afterwards provoked the first noticeable decrease in the numbers of Japanese abroad since the legalisation of overseas travel in 1866. This was inescapable for the *bakufu* students in Europe at the time, most of whom were in London. Others thought the news urgent enough to voluntarily curtail their stay in Britain and return to Japan. Similarly, news of the Saga rebellion in 1874 was enough to persuade Nabeshima Naohiro to hurry back to assess the damage to his native domain.<sup>1</sup>

Domestic circumstances, however, were factors not only in curtailing Japanese overseas experiences. An increased domestic awareness of the importance of western learning had, with the approval of the Meiji government, precipitated the rise in the number of students overseas in the first place. The immediate impact of the abolition of the *han* in 1871 was also to increase the number of students abroad. It was at the end of 1871 that the greatest single overseas exodus of government officials and aristocrats took place with the departure of the Iwakura embassy. The dispossessed *daimyō* were actively encouraged by the Meiji government to travel and study in the West, and some aristocratic families felt unwillingly obliged to send at least one close relative abroad. Overseas travel, it was hoped, could foster an attachment to a national Japanese polity in addition to their undisputed personal loyalty to the emperor. There was also a suspicion that this official attitude was motivated by a desire to dissipate potential opposition to the abolition of the feudal order by effectively exiling *daimyō* and other potential figureheads of dissent.<sup>2</sup>

Ōkubo's proclamation in 1868 that each *han* should send a party of students overseas, however, included the very flaw that ultimately necessitated the return of most of those abroad, for a further effect of the abolition of the *han* was to leave most Japanese travellers dependent on central government support. The financial burden this created prompted the *Monbushō* to conduct a survey of



students overseas. As a result, the majority were recalled to Japan during the course of 1873, causing a sharp decrease in the numbers of Japanese in Britain, and effectively curtailing the boom in Japanese overseas travel of the early Meiji period.

#### Student regulations and the recall from Britain

Even before the overthrow of the Tokugawa régime, students had often been required to operate within rules set by the *bakufu* or by the individual *han* that sent them overseas. The Meiji government followed suit, and began to impose rules of conduct on overseas students in the late 1860s. The first code of regulations for government-sponsored students as such appeared in 1870. This consisted of ten sections and stipulated that students should be between sixteen and 25 years old, have a solid foundation in both Chinese and western studies, and were to spend up to five years abroad. The regulations already made a distinction between those sent with government funds and privately-funded students. Much of the text showed an overriding concern that the students' conduct abroad should not bring shame on the Empire, partly reflecting fears that accusations of uncivilized behaviour might prejudice Japanese chances of winning support for the revision of the unequal treaties. They were required to make an oath at a local shrine before departure promising good behaviour, and were to report back to the shrine on their return.<sup>1</sup>

These regulations prohibited certain social behaviour, revealing the transitional cultural climate in the early Meiji years when, however fashionable overseas travel had become, popular attitudes of the *sakoku* period and *jōi* sympathies were still in evidence in Japan. Students were reminded not to kill foreign nationals while abroad, a warning that was adhered to. Other rules were not so strictly observed such as the warning that they were not to borrow money, even from other Japanese. In his London diary in the early 1870s, Kataoka Kenkichi recorded lending money to various fellow Tosa students on an almost daily basis. The regulations presented to students accompanying the Iwakura embassy in late 1871 included rules forbidding them from marrying foreign nationals or converting to Christianity.<sup>2</sup> Only shortly afterwards, Minami Teisuke was trying to persuade Iwakura, Ōkubo and Itō of the virtue of his marriage to Liza Pitman. Tsuda Umeko,<sup>a</sup> one of five young girls who

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a. 津田 梅子

accompanied the Iwakura embassy to America, was later baptised during the course of her studies there.

When the Iwakura embassy left Japan, *Mōnbushō* officials among the party were entrusted with the task of investigating the state of affairs among Japanese students overseas. A month before, Inoue Kaoru had laid out proposals for controlling government grants, including a recommendation that a supervisor should be appointed to manage the students' affairs during their research.<sup>3</sup> Responsibility for the investigation fell to Tanaka Fujimaro<sup>a</sup> who had already undertaken to conduct a detailed survey of educational systems in America and Europe. The task of gathering information, however, was often delegated to figures like Hatakeyama Yoshinari who, as one of the Satsuma students to have left Japan in 1865, could already boast nearly three years experience of living in Britain, and nearly four years in America.

In late 1871, Hatakeyama was on his way back to Japan via Europe when he was ordered to retrace his steps to America and join the Iwakura embassy there. In December 1871, he drafted a series of recommendations entitled 'the question of the Japanese students in Britain' in which he seized and expanded on Inoue's theme of appointing a supervisor. It appears that he selected Britain, with its highly visible concentration of Japanese students in the London area as an appropriate departure point in addressing the problems and needs of Japanese overseas students as a whole.<sup>4</sup>

Hatakeyama's report reveals a concern that lack of supervision was resulting in underachievement among a number of students in Britain. He pointed out that, although there were then over 80 students in the country, there was no Japanese official to guide their studies. He thought it essential for the government to appoint a director to manage their affairs and provide academic advice, observing that, 'at the present time, eight or nine out of every ten Japanese students in Britain decide upon a new subject during their stay in the country'. The supervisor would investigate institutions, courses and teachers, and examine each student four times a year, a variation of Inoue's recommendation that each institution should send the Japanese government monthly reports.

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a. 田中不二麿

Hatakeyama listed in ten sections the duties to be expected of this 'Director of Japanese Students in Britain', and many of these provisions were later reflected in *Monbushō* regulations as they gradually developed. While the Iwakura embassy was in Europe, for example, Ozaki Saburō was temporarily entrusted with the task of managing the affairs of Japanese students in Britain, though he appears to have been mostly concerned with their finances.<sup>5</sup> Terashima Munenori, the newly-appointed Japanese Minister in Britain also reflected Hatakeyama's ideas in the recommendations he made in late 1872. It was not until 1875, however, that the position of supervisor he had outlined was formally created, a post that was first assigned to Masaki Taizō on his return to Britain in 1876.

The first revision of the code of regulations for overseas students appeared in August 1872. Although this was little more than an expanded version of the 1870 code, it reflected for the first time the financial constraints imposed by the *Ōkurashō*. While there were funds to send 150 students between the ages of nineteen and 25 to study at undergraduate level at universities overseas, no more than 30 graduates were to be given support to pursue their research abroad. There were far more Japanese students already overseas at the time, so the new code effectively paved the way for the significant reduction in their numbers thereafter.<sup>6</sup> These regulations also contained much new detail, specifying, for example, that all students were to be selected by examination, and stipulating study terms and grants. On their return, students were required to enter government service and face an examination set by the *Monbushō*, unless they had a certificate of graduation from their university abroad.

This code was still no more than an interim measure, and during the course of 1872, members of the Iwakura embassy continued their investigations in liaison with Japanese resident ministers in America and Europe. In October, Terashima warned the government that a fully revised system was essential. 'The present educational regulations relating to overseas students appear to address the needs of those who are to study abroad in future', he wrote, 'but give no indication of how to assess those students who are already pursuing their studies overseas'.<sup>7</sup> He pointed out that many of these individuals had not progressed through any particular curriculum and would thus be extremely

difficult to assess. Terashima arranged to meet Itō Hirobumi in London and, between them, they created a proposal containing 25 sections for the *Ōkurashō* to consider. At the same time, Mori Arinori, the resident minister in America, sent the government a separate proposal listing 33 points outlining defects in the current regulations. Then in November, the collapse of the American Joint National Bank in London and the resulting loss of £2,000 prompted Inoue Kaoru to press the Iwakura embassy for a third time to expedite their proposals for reorganising overseas students' affairs.<sup>8</sup>

This led to the announcement of a revised and expanded code of regulations in March 1873. The code consisted of 44 sections with twelve sections on finance alone, and drew extensively on the recommendations made by Terashima and Mori the previous October.<sup>9</sup> Hatakeyama was also in close contact with both Terashima and Mori, so that the shape of future overseas research was certainly being influenced by the concerted efforts of former members of the Satsuma student party in Britain during the mid-1860s.

The implications for many students in Britain were almost immediate. In March 1873, all resident ministers were sent instructions to conduct investigations on students in their respective countries, and order home all those not currently enrolled in university courses. The despatch sent to London listed the names of 81 students then in Britain, 56 of whom were government-sponsored. The communiqué recommended that six of these government-sponsored students could be allowed to stay, and these were to be selected by the minister on academic merit. Some students were soon receiving orders from the consulate to return to Japan.<sup>10</sup>

In spite of the rhetoric, an examination of the names listed reveals that this investigation was somewhat less comprehensive than it first appeared. There were several government-sponsored students then in Britain whose names were omitted from this list, and who were simply left unexamined. Most of these had been sent overseas by individual ministries, including naval students such as Tōgō Heihachirō and *Ōkurashō* students like Toyohara Hyakutarō.<sup>a</sup> There were at least fourteen students sent by government ministries in 1871 alone who were still in Britain at the time but whose names do not appear on the list of those

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a. 豊原百太郎

to be investigated. Closer inspection reveals that the 56 individuals recorded as government-sponsored students were almost exclusively individuals who had originally been sent overseas by various *han*, and for whom financial responsibility had been inherited by the central government following the *haihan chicken* act of 1871. Only 4 of the 56 had originally been sent by the Meiji government.<sup>11</sup>

Although presented as comprehensive, therefore, these instructions were highly selective, a feature immediately apparent to Japanese students who, during the course of 1873, became aware that some colleagues appeared exempt from the scrutiny that they themselves were receiving from the legation in London. This provoked critical responses such as that in a letter signed by 'Hino-Moto', an anonymous correspondent in Brussels, which appeared in *The Times* that summer. The letter noted that, in the case of some exceptions, 'the order of departure has not been transmitted'. This apparent discrimination was causing resentment, for Hino-Moto added that, 'such a choice not being justified by any reason whatever, and, moreover, made in an arbitrary manner, has caused a manifestation on the part of the other Japanese'.<sup>12</sup>

Japanese students in Britain despised the thought of being investigated, and Kuki Takakazu,<sup>a</sup> a *Monbushō* official dispatched overseas to assess their academic progress, found his mission rendered practically impossible by the coolness of the reception he received from all the students there.<sup>13</sup> As they became aware that their academic achievements were either going to be, or were already under investigation, some may have attempted to make a favourable impression on the ministers who held the power over their future in Britain. This was perhaps one reason why Koma Rinnosuke, for example, wrote his letters to Sameshima Naonobu in English. If so, his efforts were in vain, for he was to be among those ordered home and arrived back in Japan in 1874.

Many misconceptions were held both in Japan and Britain about the *Monbushō*'s intentions. Some of these were a direct result of the ministry's own rhetoric, for it was popularly thought that all overseas students were to be recalled. Ozaki Saburō later described the recall order as all-embracing, and Kido Takayoshi certainly thought it was at the time. In January 1874, he wrote that,

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a. 九鬼隆一

'with regard to sending the students in Europe and America back to Japan, I think it will be quite damaging for the Japanese government to jumble up pearls and pebbles like this, without so much as enquiring about their diligence or even investigating the individuals in question'.<sup>14</sup> Kido complained that he felt powerless to stop a seemingly irreversible process. His sense of unease was also related to the *hanbatsu* factionalism within the Meiji government, and a perception that the reforms were being orchestrated by diplomats from Satsuma.

If senior Japanese government officials were confused by the *Monbushō*'s manoeuvres, it is hardly surprising that there were also misapprehensions among those British individuals who were privately or academically concerned with the care of Japanese students. The vagueness of the instructions themselves caused rumours and a sense of alarm, resulting in a heated exchange of correspondence published in *The Times* in August 1873. The self-styled Hino-Moto in Brussels attacked the conduct of the resident ministers, informing readers that 'all the young men sent out by the Japanese Government throughout Europe and America with a view to applying themselves to the study of different branches of science have been ordered to return home. The said order has been transmitted them by the resident ministers, who have not thought it proper to make any objections thereupon'. Kido would perhaps have agreed with his sentiments when he charged that 'it is in vain that we inquire into the causes of a measure so inopportune, and I may also add so contrary to the interests of the country. Some ascribe it to the financial crisis, for it is a known fact that most of these gentlemen are sent out at government expense; others are of opinion that it is because a certain number of them do not respond to the sacrifices imposed upon the State for their instruction'.<sup>15</sup>

Hino-Moto was evidently aware of the political background behind the rapid increase in the numbers of Japanese travelling overseas. He wrote that these students were 'at present 600 in number', and had 'been for these last ten years sent out at different epochs by different Principalities; for the first missions were sent at a time when feudal institutions still flourished in Japan'. He pointed out that 'these young gentlemen underwent no examination whatever', and explained somewhat dramatically that 'it sufficed them to enjoy the protection, the patronage of some clever man, or rather, let it be confessed,

of some man of intrigue'. Hino-Moto claimed that 'the Government was content by charging the resident Ministers to make a choice among the students, requiring that the most deserving of them should be pointed out, and the remainder sent back to Japan'. He accused the ministers of having chosen instead 'to send them all back, at the same time advising the Government to submit them to an examination, after which those who should have to return to Europe should be chosen'.

In fact, recommendations for assessment had been made long since by figures like Inoue Kaoru and Hatakeyama Yoshinari. In March 1873, the same month in which the resident ministers received their instructions to investigate the progress of students overseas, a set procedure had already been announced for formal examinations to be given in their specialist subjects following their return, with specifications of the various grades to be awarded. In May, the *Monbushō* then announced that returning students would all have to sit a general examination.<sup>16</sup>

After pointing out the enormous expense to be incurred by the voyages of 600 students simultaneously returning home, the letter concluded with a negative assessment of the outlook facing them on their arrival in Japan. Hino-Moto reported that, 'according to the opinion of many, supposing the Japanese Government has intended definitely to recall the students, these young men, who hoped in the future to be of important use to their country, are at present only half-way in their studies, and they cannot be expected to resume them at home, as no establishment whatever of superior learning wherein University studies might be ended exists in Japan. The Japanese Government will thus have spent an enormous amount of money in order to attain an almost negative result. In fact, what can be expected from young men possessed in all things of but incomplete notions, with scraps of science? I ask it of any man of sense. Can such be the wish of that Government, so enlightened, and which for two years has excited the admiration of the most civilized of nations?'

This letter quickly drew support from another correspondent who explained: 'I have one of these gentlemen under my charge. With several others, he was sent to England some 18 months or two years ago to learn any useful profession he might

prefer. He worked exceedingly hard, and has now learnt the English language sufficiently to easily master his profession, at which he has also worked, and has certainly got on wonderfully well considering the disadvantage under which he has laboured. And now, when he is beginning to learn something which will be of real value hereafter, an order is issued by the home Government that all students must return or forfeit their allowance'.<sup>17</sup>

This writer was one of a number of individuals in Britain who, unaware of the details of *Monbushō* policy, could only pass an opinion on the matter in the context of what the students in their charge could tell them. This tended to provoke a strong sense of indignation on the students' behalf. In conclusion, the writer asked: 'is this just, after this Government have induced these young fellows to leave their homes, to abandon their prospects, and expose themselves in youth to all the hardships of exile, to retreat from their part of the contract, when the other party is fulfilling his to the letter?'

The following day, a letter written by a Godfrey A. Tallerman appeared in *The Times*, observing that 'your correspondents appear to be under some misapprehension with regard to the circumstances connected with the matter'. Tallerman claimed more detailed knowledge through a 'connexion with the *Japan Herald*, the official organ of the Japanese Government'. This shed some light on the examinations that the *Monbushō* had begun setting newly-returned students, and revealed that public debate on the matter had been rekindled in Japan 'consequent on a report sent in to the Educational Department by the Rev. Dr. Veeder, Professor of Natural Philosophy and Mathematics at the chief College in Yedo, and who from time to time has been called upon to examine the returned students from Europe and America'. Dr Veeder had found these students 'in every instance unable to bear a satisfactory examination', and in one recent case, a student had been able to answer little over half of the questions in his professed special field, 'while in the other branches he refused utterly to be examined'. According to Tallerman, 'this failure on the part of the student Dr. Veeder attributes to the want of knowledge of the language of the country in which he studies'.<sup>18</sup> Academic shortcomings like this echoed the fears that had been exercising the minds of Japanese officials investigating the progress of overseas students. Tallerman concluded that 'where we see a Japanese carrying



off 'Cook's prize' at a London University, and many others following closely in his steps, it seems a disastrous course to pursue, and one fraught with injury to all concerned'.

For all his background knowledge of examinations in Japan, however, Tallerman's interpretation failed to correspond with the information actually reaching students and their supervisors in Britain during the summer of 1873. He claimed ambitiously to 'have good reasons for stating that the recall extends only to those who have not made the expected progress in their various branches of study'. This provoked an immediate response from the previous correspondent who pointed out that, 'if Mr. Tallerman will refer to my former letter, he will find I state that the young fellow under my charge has made most satisfactory progress; the Japanese Government have never referred to me as to what progress he was making in his profession, but have simply, I am given to understand, ordered him home'.<sup>19</sup> Tallerman's first-hand knowledge, therefore, ultimately failed to conceal the fact that the recall was not so much an academically accountable system of rationalising student numbers, as an immediate political response to the financial burden imposed by the great number of students dependent on government funds.

Nevertheless, Tallerman's description of examinations did convey with some accuracy the experience awaiting some students arriving back in Japan in 1873. The results that emerged from these tests revealed that some appeared to have little practical knowledge to show for their years of research overseas. One reason, as Ishizuki Minoru has pointed out, was that 'extremely few of the Japanese overseas students in 1873 were actually registered on courses at universities or specialist schools'.<sup>20</sup> Fuwa Yoshirō,<sup>a</sup> for example, had been sent overseas by the Kaga *han* at the age of seventeen in 1868, and returned to Japan in May 1873 after more than four years in Britain, but was only able to answer one out of eight questions on arithmetic. His report pointed out that 'his English pronunciation is poor, and his conversation quite inferior'.<sup>21</sup> Several others, including Miyoshi Taizō<sup>b</sup> who had studied in Britain, declared that they were not well enough prepared to sit an examination at all. According to Ozaki Saburō, two students from Fukuoka and Awa who had spent five or six years in Britain and America scored so poorly in their tests that a newspaper

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a. 不敏与四郎

b. 好退蔵

article reported them to be incapable of answering elementary school level questions. One of them apparently went mad.<sup>22</sup>

During 1873, the poor academic performance of some overseas students was highlighted in the Meiji press. One journal cited a letter from a student in London complaining that, without achieving a solid foundation in arithmetic, conversation and reading before leaving Japan, there was no benefit to be derived from studying abroad, for even the engagement of a private tutor at considerable expense would not guarantee entrance to college. 'It is pointless', the student concluded, 'to study these three subjects after travelling 10,000 *ri* abroad when they can easily be mastered in Japan'.<sup>23</sup> A satirical book published later that year also claimed that, while the sons of *daimyō* spent vast sums on their education overseas and returned home expecting some important government appointment, few of them were of any use to the nation at all.<sup>24</sup>

Some returning students resisted orders to sit the *Monbushō* examination. Ozaki Saburō proudly recalled how he insisted that only a government minister was qualified to assess his research, and refused an advance of the following month's student grant proffered to secure his compliance.<sup>25</sup> His was not an isolated case, and after concerted resistance from a number of examinees, the tests for returning students were abolished in December 1873.<sup>26</sup>

While orders to return had already reached some overseas students, preparations continued apace in Tokyo to extend the recall. In a communication to Sanjō Sanetomi in July 1873, the *Monbushō* announced that eight students were to be allowed to stay in Britain due to their proven academic ability. The remaining 42 government-sponsored students were all to be ordered back to Japan. The number of students listed had fallen below the figure given four months before, indicating that recall orders had already begun to have an effect on the Japanese student population in Britain.<sup>27</sup> Then on 15 December 1873, the government issued a final recall order. Communications were sent to the individual ministries responsible for the students, instructing them to order them all back to Japan for assessment, regardless of their academic record. They were required to return within 65 days or lose their travel allowance.

One loophole was provided, however, in that these orders did not apply to those wishing to continue their studies with private funds. Some appear to have taken advantage of this option because, although many students did arrive back in Japan in early 1874, others originally listed as due to return from Britain, such as Tatenō Gōzō, Kurobe Kōtarō and Nakamikado Tsunetaka,<sup>a</sup> succeeded in remaining there for years afterwards.<sup>28</sup> Furthermore, the recall order did not take into account those government-sponsored students who had been conspicuously omitted from the original *Monbushō* lists of students in Britain. As a result, although the numbers of Japanese in Britain should theoretically have been much reduced by mid-1874, there were a surprising number still in the country, for in addition to a handful of the most brilliant students who survived the *Monbushō*'s inquiries and soon returned, there were also some private students and several others sent by the government who had not been investigated at all.<sup>29</sup>

In 1874, several new regulations were introduced to further improve the measures of the previous year. In March, it was announced that returning students were to be granted ten days living expenses following their arrival in Japan, and daily travelling expenses during their journey to their native province.<sup>30</sup> In June, some of the suggestions made by Hatakeyama two-and-a-half years<sup>earlier</sup> appeared in the guidelines sent to resident ministers for supervising students' academic progress during their courses. Then in 1875, an entirely redrafted code of regulations for overseas students came into effect. Comprising 29 sections, this was the sum total of the *Monbushō*'s investigations of the early 1870s, and an accompanying document in 30 sections on the supervision of students finally adopted the recommendation to appoint directors in each country to manage their affairs.<sup>31</sup> In the case of Britain, this appointment fell to Masaki Taizō who already had experience of study at UCL and returned to assume this new role in 1876.

In marked contrast to the situation only a few years before, the qualifications required to study overseas were now rigorous in the extreme, and only the most brilliant students had a chance of winning government sponsorship. Watanabe Minoru has pointed out that, 'even though the *Monbushō* tried to recruit overseas students, the qualifications required were so intimidating that no

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a. 建野 郷三、黒部 敏太郎

applicants came forward'.<sup>32</sup> It fell to the *Kaisei Gakkō* college instead to select its most promising students between the ages of 20 and 23. In 1875, nine of these were sent to America, one to Germany and one to France. The following year, two more went to France while eight arrived in Britain. Also in 1876, the *Kōbu Daigakkō* followed suit and started sending its most promising graduates to Glasgow University.

These students, however, were essentially products of a carefully orchestrated administrative apparatus set up by the central government, and thus marked the onset of a distinctly new era that was to characterise Japanese overseas research for the rest of the century. They were already specialists, so much so that Sugiura Jūgō, one of the students who arrived in Britain in 1876, had already identified the only leading experts in his chosen field that he felt were capable of furthering his education.<sup>33</sup> Just two years later, Masaki Taizō, the director of Japanese students in Britain, felt confident enough to declare in the *Chōya Shinbun*<sup>a</sup> newspaper that 'those who have been sent overseas by the *Monbushō* have greatly improved the reputation of Japanese students abroad'.<sup>34</sup> Such specialists, however, were to be something of a rarity in the late nineteenth century, for the *Monbushō* sent less than 30 students to Britain over the course of the next 20 years.<sup>35</sup> The arrival of the eight students from the *Kaisei Gakkō* college in 1876, therefore, effectively signalled an end to the rich variety of political backgrounds and sheer weight of numbers that had characterised the Japanese in Britain during the 1860s and early 1870s.

#### Arrival in Japan

Although a subject of great interest, there are few primary records which reveal the immediate impressions of early Japanese travellers on returning to their native land after years of living abroad. Diaries more often described the outward journey, and those journals which did record the return to Japan invariably trailed off almost as soon as the writer stepped ashore. The most complete journals were often those kept by travellers on short-term expeditions such as the *bakufu* missions of the 1860s. Those who had still kept diaries during the return passage often expressed a simple sense of joy at their safe return. They also conveyed a sense of pride at having accomplished such a momentous journey, especially in the early 1860s when overseas travel was still

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a. 朝野新聞

a novelty. In 1862, for example, Ichikawa Wataru thought the Takenouchi mission's arrival in Japan called for some dramatic rhetoric. 'Will no one raise a glass with me to toast this feat', he asked, 'for this has been nothing short of a grand adventure in space, spanning 3,000 years and 10,000 leagues there and back?'<sup>1</sup>

Students who had been away for any length of time rarely maintained diaries long enough to include accounts of the voyage home. Nevertheless, surviving records tell us that some found their homecoming quite problematic to come to terms with, especially if they had been away for long enough to have become accustomed to western social habits. When Nire Kagenori returned in late 1867, he was delighted to be back and was full of praise for the magnificence of Mount Fuji, but felt surprise at seeing people walking semi-naked in the streets of Yokohama, and declared: 'I can barely express how ashamed I feel in the presence of others (foreigners) on witnessing such scenes'.<sup>2</sup> Ozaki Saburō experienced a certain Victorian sense of prudery at a Yokohama inn following his arrival in 1873. As he was enjoying a Japanese bath, he was embarrassed to discover that the bathing facilities were not reserved for men alone. After six years in Britain, he felt compelled to remain seated in the hot water and quietly boil while he waited for an opportunity to escape unobserved.<sup>3</sup>

Even after spending some time back in Japan, Baba Tatsui found difficulty in shrugging off the tastes he had acquired while frequenting West End theatres in London during the early 1870s. 'The life is rather monotonous', he complained. 'I have not some amusement in this country. I think England is much better'.<sup>4</sup> In 1877, the first thing that Nakamigawa Hikojiro noticed following his arrival back in Japan was a lack of sanitation. In defence of his native land, he was quick to assert that, while the machinery in Europe was highly advanced, the standards of morality he had observed there were lamentable.<sup>5</sup>

Nakamigawa had a marked tendency to be critical, and was by no means the most experienced scholar of western studies, but it is interesting to note that a student returning in 1877 after nearly two years in Britain could still employ rhetoric reminiscent of Sakuma Shōzan in the 1850s. Returning travellers perhaps experienced a powerful mixture of nostalgia and patriotism, and some

also felt the need for a conscious effort to reintegrate themselves in Japanese society. Nakamigawa's comments are perhaps best understood as a reaction against the contemporary fashions for western models and artefacts in early Meiji Japan. While Sakuma had recommended at least seizing the advantages offered by western technology, Nakamigawa and other travellers returning from Britain in the late 1870s were addressing quite different circumstances, and could feel obliged to argue for at least the preservation of their indigenous moral tradition amidst the sweeping changes that were transforming early Meiji society. It was in such a vein that Nakai Hiroshi published his *Man'yū Kitei* [*Record of my Wanderings outside Japan*]<sup>a</sup> in the same year, with his bitter attack on the double standards of domestic life he had observed during his years in London.<sup>6</sup> Similarly, Kume Kunitake often reminded his readers of the virtues to be found in traditional learning when his *Kairan Jikki* was published in 1878.

These views thus reflect the rapid changes taking place in the early Meiji years. After spending less than a year abroad, for example, Maejima Hisoka could remark on his return in September 1871 that 'progress is so fast that it happens before one has time to turn one's eyes to look'.<sup>7</sup> While students returning to Japan from Britain in the mid-1870s were certainly in the vanguard of introducing the latest western ideas and techniques, they could also act as agents of reaction, tempering what they saw as the sometimes excessive enthusiasm for Victorian models. Just as Nomura Fumio in his *Seiyō Bunken Roku* had pointed out some drawbacks to the industrial society that Fukuzawa Yukichi had promoted so unequivocally in *Seiyō Jijō*, their perspectives introduced an informed awareness of some of the potential costs of the modernisation that the Meiji government had embarked upon with such consuming energy.

#### Post-return activities

To describe in detail the later activities of all the Japanese who had spent some time in Britain between 1862 and 1876 would be to cover a substantial proportion of Japanese history during the Meiji period. It is only possible here to introduce their impact on particular fields like politics, publication and education through which their ideas were most broadly transmitted to Japanese society. It is difficult to quantify the numbers of returning travellers who participated in such fields because many of them, including those in government

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a. 「漫遊記程」

service, were involved in a variety of activities during the course of their later careers, and often pursued a number of different interests at the same time.

Most Japanese students in this period were originally sent overseas by central or provincial governments, and the majority of those returning from Britain and other western countries soon found service in government posts. Due to domestic political considerations, however, opportunities were by no means equal, as *bakufu* students could find to their cost on their return to post-Tokugawa Japan. *Han* affiliations were often critically important in affecting returning travellers' employment prospects. Viewed as a collective group, the thirty or so *mikkōsha* from southwestern *han* who escaped illegally to Britain in the mid-1860s were the most advantageously placed. Many of these returned shortly before or after the overthrow of the *bakufu*, and found that they were practically the only Japanese at the time who possessed not only English language skills and overseas experience, but also the appropriate *han* connections to make their services indispensable to the newly-established authorities.

Important posts in the *Gaimushō*, for example, fell conspicuously to *mikkōsha* from Satsuma. In addition to Terashima Munenori who could already boast extensive diplomatic experience, Mori Arinori and Sameshima Naonobu received appointments to become the first Japanese resident ministers overseas. Both were still in their mid-twenties. Similarly, Mawatari Hachirō from Hizen returned to Japan in 1868, and was promptly appointed to a position of rank in the *Gaimushō* the following year.

It was in the role of technological supervisors, however, that the *mikkōsha* figured most prominently in government posts during the early Meiji years. On its formation in 1871, the *Kōbushō* required experienced hands to oversee the railway, telegraph and lighthouse construction projects that were then being entrusted to teams of largely British engineers. The *Ōkurashō* required similar skills to supervise the British engineers in charge of running the Imperial Mint in Osaka. Yamao Yōzō and Itō Hirobumi were both instrumental in forming the *Kōbushō* and played central roles in its development. Fellow Chōshū officers who had escaped to Britain with them in 1863 figured large in their plans.

Inoue Masaru supervised the Railway Bureau for over twenty years and became known as the father of the railway in Japan. His enthusiasm for a state-controlled railway network was fuelled by an unfavourable impression of Britain's unregulated private system.<sup>1</sup> Endō Kinsuke went on to become director of the Imperial Mint, while Takeda Yōjirō, another Chōshū *mikkōsha*, later became vice-president at the *Kōbu Daigakkō* college.

Such roles were not restricted to *mikkōsha* from Chōshū alone. Takeda had been one of four students taught by the unidentified Fraser in Aberdeen, all of whom later served in technological posts in the Meiji government. Of the two *mikkōsha* from Hizen, Ishimaru Toragorō became head of the Telegraph Bureau, and both he and Mawatari Hachirō served as head of the Imperial Mint. Nomura Fumio from Aki also served in the *Kōbushō* in the Survey Office before deciding that his future lay in journalism.

The Meiji government did employ the services of some former *bakufu* officers such as Fukuchi Gen'ichirō, Katsu Awa and Shioda Saburō<sup>a</sup> who could boast invaluable overseas experience from diplomatic missions in the 1860s. Their companions on such travels, however, rarely rose to positions of influence in the Meiji administration. Furthermore, the marked tendency among *mikkōsha* to rise to influential positions in the ministries of Public Works, Finance and Foreign Affairs, was not the case for *bakufu* students returning to Japan in 1868. Although political conditions were not in their favour, they nevertheless had the advantage of being among the few Japanese to have lived overseas, and the value of their experience was not lost on higher government officials in the *Gaimushō* such as Mori Arinori and Sameshima Naonobu from Satsuma who knew some of them from their own student days in London. Kawaji Tarō, the director of the *bakufu* students in Britain, for example, worked in the *Gaimushō* during the early Meiji years and took part in the Iwakura embassy's travels. Toyama Masakazu was also employed briefly by Mori Arinori in the Japanese Legation in Washington, but both he and Kawaji eventually left the diplomatic service to pursue careers in education. The only one of the original fourteen *bakufu* students to spend his career in government service was Hayashi Tadasu who, as Minister to Britain and Minister of Foreign Affairs, was later instrumental in preparing the diplomatic ground for the 1902 Anglo-Japanese alliance.

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a. 勝阿波、塩田三郎



The *bakufu* students had been among the élite of the Tokugawa education system in Edo, and it was in the field of education that many of them found a role during the Meiji period. Shizuoka became a centre of former *bakufu* officials and four students, Nakamura Masanao, Toyama Masakazu, Sugi Tokujirō and Iwasa Genji, all taught at the Shizuoka *Gakumonsho* school before it was abolished in 1872.<sup>a</sup> Although briefly employed by Inoue Kaoru as a translator in the *Ōkurashō*, Nakamura devoted his later years to education in Tokyo where he founded the successful *Dōjinsha* school.<sup>b</sup> Toyama Masakazu and Kikuchi Dairoku both went on to become president of Tokyo University, and as a result of their academic endeavours, also served in later Meiji cabinets as Minister of Education.

As the authorities envisaged, a significant proportion of students sent overseas by the separate ministries in the early Meiji years went on to fill government posts. An examination of those sent to Britain reveals that each ministry was well represented, and perhaps more so than in the case of other European countries where the total numbers of Japanese students were less. Almost all of the Japanese students in Germany, for example, were there to study military affairs, medicine or law. If any particular academic leaning can be attributed to Japanese students in Britain, it was perhaps in the high concentration of naval students. Tōgō Heihachirō was one of more more than twenty naval officers who were sent to study in Britain during the early Meiji years.

Although many of the *mikkōsha* who returned in the late 1860s soon made a noticeable impact on early Meiji politics, students in the 1870s were increasingly found positions of less exalted rank following their return to Japan. The rising numbers of overseas travellers made their experiences less indispensable, and in 1873 in particular, the lack of academic progress made by some students was highlighted in the Meiji press. Nevertheless, government officials who were sent to Britain in order to conduct specific surveys could still have an immediate influence on government policy. Maejima Hisoka, for example, organised the Japanese postal system on the strength of his observations there, and his own discovery of the concept of government monopolies was soon reflected in documents relating to the postal system presented to the *Seiin*<sup>c</sup> by Ōkubo Toshimichi and Inoue Kaoru.<sup>2</sup> Maejima adopted practices he had seen during his research, attempting to incorporate a saving

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a. 杉徳次郎、岩佐源二、静岡学問所

b. 同人社

c. 正院

scheme and adhering 'to the British principle that the lower the standard rate the higher the volume of letters, and therefore of profit'.<sup>3</sup> Similarly, Ōshima Takatō's inspection of British mines during the Iwakura embassy's visit was to be applied in his later career as head of a number of mines in Japan. Yasukawa Shigenari, one of the team of observers included in the embassy by the *Sa'in*,<sup>a</sup> made numerous visits to both houses of Parliament and later published a number of works on the 'the General Theory of Parliament'.

Some returning students developed their political interests at a more regional level and served in provincial administrations, Furusawa Shigeru,<sup>b</sup> for example, developed a career in journalism, but also became one of several individuals who had studied in Britain during the 1870s who went on to serve as a prefectural governor in Japan.<sup>4</sup>

In addition to the many students who found government posts, there were some travellers returning from Britain who were to play influential roles in Japan's economic development during the Meiji period. Godai Tomoatsu, for example, devoted much of his energy to the establishment of Ōsaka as a commercial centre and was responsible for the creation of institutions like the Ōsaka Chamber of Commerce. A handful of students in Britain in the 1870s appear to have focused on economics such as the four who studied political economy at UCL.<sup>5</sup> Some like Iwanaga Shōichi, Hara Rokurō and Sameshima Takenosuke<sup>c</sup> went on to become leading figures in commerce and banking. Nakamigawa Hikojiro later became a commanding strategist in the Mitsui business empire, a career that was directly influenced by his encounter with Inoue Kaoru in London in 1876. Nakamigawa had been sent to Britain to pursue general studies, but spent his Saturday afternoons with a group of Japanese students reading texts on political economy. One of these was Inoue who, more than a decade after his first illegal escape overseas, had returned to London to further his knowledge of tax policy.<sup>6</sup> According to the Chinese ambassador there, Inoue recommended Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations* at the time as a useful introduction to taxation in Britain.<sup>7</sup>

Travellers returning from Britain could be found among the most senior government posts in Meiji Japan. Fields in which they were particularly influential included diplomacy, finance and technological innovation, all of

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a. 安川繁成、左院

b. 古沢滋

c. 岩永省一、鮫島武之助

which were heavily influenced by their experience of life in Victorian Britain. Although they were often closely associated with government figures, individuals like Godai and Nakamigawa pursued independent commercial careers. In addition to these activities, it was perhaps in the fields of political thought, journalism and education that travellers returning from Britain made the most tangible long-term impact on Meiji society. One area of political activity with which many of them were associated was the movement for a more widely based platform of representation in Japan.

i) the *Kyōzon Dōshū*<sup>a</sup>

A combination of Victorian ideas and domestic political circumstances led to many overseas students becoming actively involved in the campaign for liberal rights following their return to Japan. The movement itself gathered momentum during the early 1870s among *samurai* on the fringes of political power who felt excluded from the inner circles of government by the factional (*hanbatsu*) interests of Satsuma and Chōshū. Returning students also considered themselves natural leaders of the future, but few were immediately granted government posts to match their ambition. Some from Tosa became particularly active in campaigning for political reform. This was partly through their allegiance to Itagaki Taisuke,<sup>b</sup> the most senior Tosa figure in the Meiji government who resigned in 1873, and planned his political rehabilitation under a banner of promoting liberal rights. When Ono Azusa, a student from Tosa, returned from London in the same year, he founded the *Kyōzon Dōshū*, an organization that was also to become closely associated with the liberal rights movement, and which quickly attracted support from other Japanese students who had lived in Britain.

The proclaimed objectives of the *Kyōzon Dōshū* were idealistic, seeking to promote harmonious coexistence through the exchange of ideas. Ono modelled its structure on the Society of Japanese Students which he had helped to form in London the year before. It was even divided into sections for law, education, finance and hygiene, much like the Social Science Association in Britain.<sup>1</sup> The society naturally took on a liberal political character through the composition of its membership. According to Ono, it was designed primarily for former students like himself because, 'at that time, the reputation of overseas

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a. 共存同業

b. 板垣退助

students was so poor due to their low examination grades that they were underrated by the general public'.<sup>2</sup> Although small at first, it went on to comprise several hundred members, including a number of influential figures like Shimaji Mokurai<sup>a</sup> and Kikuchi Dairoku, and became a significant force in channelling the energies of the expanding movement for liberal rights in Japan.

Ishizuki Minoru has pointed out close similarities between the *Kyōzon Dōshū* and the more well-known *Meirokeisha* society.<sup>b</sup> The greatest difference between the two lay in that, while the *Meirokeisha* strove to enlighten the public from above, the *Kyōzon Dōshū* sought to exert political influence from below, much like an unofficial opposition movement. In 1874, the average age of *Kyōzon Dōshū* members was 27, as opposed to 43 in the *Meirokeisha*, leading Ishizuki to conclude that, 'whereas the *Meirokeisha* was an organisation representing an older generation of already established thinkers, the *Kyōzon Dōshū* was more a body of the young intelligentsia'.<sup>3</sup>

The *Kyōzon Dōshū* naturally attracted Japanese students returning from Britain for whom it represented something of an alumni club. They in turn determined the character of the organisation which, although certainly part of the broader movement championing liberal rights, was rarely overtly critical of government policy. This was because, while students returning from Britain had observed enough western democratic practices to feel perhaps frustrated by the authoritarian attitude of the Meiji government, many of them were nevertheless hoping to rise to senior office themselves. Although members who had lived in Britain may have had a heightened awareness of Victorian liberalism, they were not necessarily united ideologically. Ironically, the *Kyōzon Dōshū* encouraged the authorities to prohibit public criticism of the government, and one of its own members, Ozaki Saburō, was among those who drafted the first government measures to curb free speech that resulted directly in the demise of the *Meirokei Zasshi* magazine in 1875.<sup>c</sup> Nevertheless, the organisation claimed a number of achievements in influencing public opinion. It was active in promoting the call for a newly constituted political assembly and contributed actively to the debate on the unequal treaties.<sup>4</sup>

The size of the *Kyōzon Dōshū* was constantly fluctuating, but it is interesting

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- a. 島地黙雷
  - b. 明六社
  - c. 明六雜誌

to note that, at a party given in January 1875 for Baba Tatsui before his return to London, more than half of the sixteen members who attended were former students in Britain, and this at a time when the total membership was still only 26. Some of the other guests there had also recently returned from Britain and became members themselves before long.<sup>5</sup> This suggests that there was a tangible sense of affinity among students and other travellers in Britain returning to Japan after spending years overseas. While abroad, for example, many had naturally felt isolated and had resorted to the companionship of other Japanese. For those who had spent years away and adjusted to a Victorian lifestyle, their sense of cultural isolation would not necessarily have disappeared simply by returning to their native land. They now possessed knowledge and experiences of a kind which, although familiar to others who had lived in Britain, could be virtually incommunicable to their families and associates at home. The *Kyōzon Dōshū* thus provided a forum for exchanging cultural references and reminiscences that would have met with incomprehension elsewhere in Japan.

After the Meiji government promised to promulgate a constitution in October 1881, the campaign for liberal rights lost its initial momentum, and it became increasingly difficult for the disparate elements within the movement to preserve even a semblance of unity. The *Kyōzon Dōshū* itself was disbanded in 1881, and Ono went on to follow the fortunes of the newly-created *Rikken Kaishintō*, while other members like Baba pursued more radical politics in the *Jiyūtō*.<sup>a</sup> Although many Japanese students returning from Britain during the previous decade had contributed to the development of the *Kyōzon Dōshū*, they failed to influence government policy as much as they had perhaps hoped. Nevertheless, their collective efforts at least contributed to promoting an awareness among government officials of the case for popular representation, even if progress must have seemed painfully slow at times for those Japanese who had consciously observed political debate in the Victorian press and the House of Commons.

#### ii) publications

Even in the 1870s, travellers returning from Britain were still among the privileged few to have had direct experience of life outside Japan, and the

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a. 立憲改進黨、自由黨

extent to which many felt the need to express their views to a wider audience in print is reflected in the extensive efforts many made to publish their written works, either as books or in the many magazines founded in the Meiji period. The most influential books included works that were the product of *tansaku* research overseas which drew on personal observations and studies to present little-known details of the structure of western civilization. Through their introductions to the nature of society in Britain in particular, they conveyed contrasting political messages to their readers at different stages of the Japanese discovery of the western world.

Fukuzawa Yukichi's *Seiyō Jijō* included a strident endorsement of western technology and institutions. Published soon afterwards, Nomura Fumio's *Seiyō Bunken Roku* also marvelled at the technical prowess of British industry, but endeavoured to introduce a sense of balance by presenting this within the context of a geographical and sociological framework. Kume Kunitake's *Kairan Jikki* appeared in 1878, and blended diverse ideas, many of them already available in print, to present the Meiji government's considered policy towards western civilization resulting from the researches of the Iwakura embassy.

Such works were the result of ambitious and time-consuming research. Other writers preferred to present their views by publishing their diaries and essays instead. Three travel diaries were already available in print before the overthrow of the Tokugawa régime, two of them written by members of the 1862 Takenouchi mission to Europe. The other, by Nakai Hiroshi, was published within months of his return from Britain in 1867. Nakai also went on to publish his *Man'yū Kitei* in 1877, a travel journal including essays presenting his observations of life in Europe. In *Kōkai Shinsetsu*, his first diary, he was lavish in his praise of the material prosperity of Britain, although he had already been somewhat sobered by the discovery of poverty in London. In *Man'yū Kitei*, he was presenting material designed to cool the reading public's enthusiasm for the structure of Victorian society by introducing the social problems he had observed as a diplomat in London during the 1870s. He thus contributed to the wider reaction against western culture that was to gain momentum in the 1880s, and most notoriously when the Meiji press lampooned the slavish mimicry of European high society to be found at the *Rokumeikan*,<sup>a</sup> the

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a. 鹿鳴館

Another method of transmitting ideas in print was to translate particularly powerful works already available in English, a technique used liberally by Fukuzawa Yukichi in latter volumes of *Seiyō Jijō*. None employed this opportunity to greater effect than Nakamura Masanao, the former *bakufu* student who, although not the most accurate of translators, succeeded in arresting the attention of his readers by presenting English works in a natural and persuasive Japanese style. By capturing the mood of contemporary thinkers in Britain, his works had a considerable impact on the movement for liberal rights in Japan.

Nakamura's first translation was *Saikoku Risshi Hen*,<sup>a</sup> a reworking of Samuel Smiles' *Self-Help*. Published in 1871, this book introduced contemporary Victorian ideas such as 'the character ethic', individuality and individualism. According to Kinmonth, these last two were 'important concepts appearing in *Self-Help* that were not well-articulated in either Confucian or samurai tradition'.<sup>2</sup> Although the political and social conditions that Smiles addressed in his best-selling work did not exist in Japan at the time, his assertion that 'national progress is the sum of individual industry, energy and uprightness' managed to strike a chord in the minds of readers who had become familiar with the rhetoric of *bunmei kaika*, the themes of progress and enlightenment particularly current in the early Meiji years.<sup>3</sup> Furthermore, although he wrote it as a means of imparting knowledge to others, Nakamura perhaps undertook this translation as much for his own sake as that of his readers. As a dispossessed *bakufu* official, he found that Smiles' ideas seemed to embody principles which he himself needed to embrace in order to survive the intense social dislocation of early Meiji Japan.<sup>4</sup>

Two years after the book appeared, an article in *The Times* reported that 'a Japanese translation of Mr. S. Smiles' *Self-Help* has been sent us for inspection. The English work forms an octavo of moderate size. In Japanese it has expanded into a book of 1,500 or 2,000 pages'. The article provided an interesting insight into the background of the work, explaining that 'it appears from a letter of the translator, Mr. K. Nakamura, written in English which would be pronounced excellent if the production of a Frenchman or even a German, who had

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a. 「西国立志編」

devoted special study to the language, that when in this country several years ago a copy of *Self-Help* was presented to him by Mr. Freeland M.P. This gentleman then remarked that it was the best book of its kind, and that a translation might be of use in Japan. On his voyage home Mr. Nakamura read the book with the deepest interest, and on arriving in Japan he translated it. He has every reason, he adds, to be gratified with the result, for almost all the higher classes of his countrymen now know what *Self-Help* is'.<sup>5</sup>

Nakamura's next work, a translation of John Stuart Mill's *On Liberty* also made a significant impact when it was published in 1872 under the title of *Jiyū no Ri* [*Principle of Freedom*].<sup>a</sup> One reader was Kōno Hironaka who went on to become a leading activist in the movement for liberal rights in eastern Japan.<sup>b</sup> According to Kōno, the day he read *Jiyū no Ri* on his way home on horseback in 1873 was a turning point in his life, and gave him the inner strength that sustained him in his political career thereafter.<sup>6</sup>

While books were powerful vehicles for communicating new ideas encountered during overseas travel, they were no longer the only format for those seeking to publicise their views in print. During the early Meiji years, a number of new magazines and journals were distributed in addition to the Japanese language newspapers that had first appeared in the mid-1860s. Some former members of *bakufu* missions became influential voices in Meiji current affairs through their newspapers. Fukuchi Gen'ichirō, a member of the Takenouchi mission, took over the *Tōkyō Nichi-nichi Shinbun*<sup>c</sup> in 1874 which, through its support of *fukoku kyōhei* policy, was widely regarded as an official voice of government opinion. Fukuzawa Yukichi founded the *Jiji Shinbō*<sup>d</sup> in 1882 with the express objective of presenting unbiased and unaffiliated reportage. Another former *bakufu* employee, Maejima Hisoka, thought of journalism as a vehicle for educating the people, and after taking service in the Meiji government, he founded the *Yūbin Hōchi Shinbun*<sup>e</sup> in 1873 in order 'to spread information, and to use the facilities provided by the post'.<sup>7</sup>

Several Japanese who had lived in Britain as students were also involved in founding or organising magazines, some of them connected with schools or political organisations. The most notable was, of course, the *Meiroke Zasshi*,

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- a. 「自由之理」
  - b. 河野広中
  - c. 東京日日新聞
  - d. 時事新報
  - e. 郵便報知新聞



the journal which publicised articles written by members of the *Meirokeisha*. These were leading intellectuals of the early Meiji period such as Mori Arinori and Nakamura Masanao, and over half of the members had experience of life overseas. In the early 1870s, Nakamura also campaigned in support of religious freedom by contributing articles to *Shinbun Zasshi*, a magazine edited by Shimaji Mokurai, and also in *Tōkyō Shinpō*, which he helped to found.<sup>a</sup> His views on the Christian issue also appeared in English in the *Japan Weekly Mail* and *Japan Herald*, and from 1876 his *Dōjinsha* school published the *Bungaku Zasshi*<sup>b</sup> magazine.<sup>8</sup>

After returning from Britain, Nakamigawa Hikojiro worked briefly as editor of the *Minkan Zasshi*,<sup>c</sup> a daily journal published by Fukuzawa's *Keiō* School.<sup>9</sup> Sugiura Jūgō, one of the students sent to Britain by the *Kaisei Gakkō* college in 1876, became a long-standing columnist of the *Asahi* newspaper, and cooperated with Shimaji Mokurai in producing the *Nihon* newspaper and *Nihonjin* magazine in the late 1880s,<sup>d</sup> both of which strove to reinforce an indigenous Japanese cultural identity capable of resisting excessive importation of western traits.<sup>10</sup> Another figure involved in the founding of *Nihon* was Nomura Fumio.<sup>11</sup>

Sugiura and Nomura were examples of students who had devoted considerable time and effort in achieving an impressive understanding of British culture, and who later in the Meiji period, displayed increasingly nationalistic views in Japan. Together with other influential figures like Ono Azusa, Toyama Masakazu and Mori Arinori, Sugiura had been imbued with a spirit of liberalism after encountering Victorian ideas such as Spencer's Theory of Natural Progress. Ono had also been enthused by the liberal ideas he found in Britain, but in later years he invoked the distinctness of Japan's innate identity by laying emphasis on respect for the Emperor. In Ishizuki's words, 'the fusion of nationalism and liberalism in the case of Ono was made possible through an introspective reappraisal of Japan's own historical tradition prompted by his encounter and experience of western liberalism as a student overseas'.<sup>12</sup>

Nomura founded *Maru-maru Chinbun* in 1877, one of the more original magazines to appear in the early Meiji period. Calling itself 'the new Japanese comic paper', this was influenced by *Punch*, revealing a direct connection between Nomura's

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a. 新聞雑誌、東京新報

b. 文学雑誌

c. 民間雑誌

d. 日本、日本人

experience in Britain and his career in journalism. *Maru-maru Chinbun* appeared weekly and featured satirical articles in Japanese interspersed with humorous anecdotes, often simultaneously printed in English. Though full of political references, its style of presentation often allowed it to escape the attention of the censors, and although it once provoked a closure order from the government and the editor was imprisoned, it survived to enjoy considerable success for several decades.

Many of the politically-oriented magazines of the period were more shortlived. Ono Azusa's *Kyōzon Zasshi* and *Chōya Shinbun*,<sup>a</sup> for example, were founded in 1875 to circulate the views of the *Kyōzon Dōshū*. By 1877, the *Chōya Shinbun* had grown to become one of only three newspapers with circulations over 10,000. Although not particularly radical and often supportive of government policy, neither journal survived the splintering of the campaign for liberal rights in the 1880s. Nevertheless, together with books, magazines like this certainly provided a medium through which many travellers returning from Britain were able to reach a wide audience and introduce the ideas they had encountered overseas, allowing them to exert considerable influence on the reading public in Meiji Japan during the course of their later careers.

### iii) education

The impact of British education on early Meiji Japan defies easy assessment in that this was one of the aspects of Victorian society least clearly addressed in *tansaku* studies. Fukuzawa, for example, paid little attention to British education in *Seiyō Jijō*, perhaps for want of any clearly comprehensible structure. Although Nomura Fumio attempted to redress this apparent imbalance with an introduction to some famous schools in the London area in his *Seiyō Bunken Roku*, early Meiji intellectuals were more familiar with education systems in Holland, France and America, and it was these models that primarily influenced the educational reforms of the period.<sup>1</sup>

Nevertheless, of all the spheres of influence in which they operated, it was perhaps in the field of education that travellers returning from Britain in the 1860s and 1870s left the most lasting impact on Japanese society. This was conducted not so much through central government, although it would be hard to

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a. 共存雑誌、朝野新聞

ignore the legacy left by Mori Arinori, one of the Satsuma students who, as Japan's first Minister of Education in the 1880s, imposed a distinctly nationalistic school régime and created the first imperial university. Their collective contribution was more apparent at grass-roots level, for a significant proportion of travellers returning from Britain either taught in existing schools or founded their own educational institutions, thus endeavouring to transmit directly to their pupils the knowledge they had encountered while overseas.

Perhaps the most well-known example of a traveller who returned to found his own school was Fukuzawa Yukichi who created the *Keiō Gijuku* college. One student who was involved at *Keiō* was Nabeshima Naotō<sup>a</sup> who became a professor there after returning from his research at Cambridge. Similarly, Ono Azusa was an influential figure in founding the *Tōkyō Senmon Gakkō*,<sup>b</sup> the forerunner of Waseda University, and Maejima Hisoka, another close associate of Ōkuma Shigenobu, was head there for a time in the late 1880s. Also important were the efforts of former Chōshū students such as Yamao Yōzō and Itō Hirobumi in making preparations for the foundation of the Imperial College of Engineering, the *Kōbu Daigakkō*, while Hatakeyama Yoshinari, one of the first Satsuma students, became president of the *Kaisei Gakkō* college and carried out extensive reforms in its educational methods during the mid-1870s. Both these colleges were forerunners of the modern Tokyo University.

A number of schools were set up in and around Tokyo, such as those founded by Nakamura Masanao and Baba Takeyoshi. Nakamura was also particularly active in the promotion of educational opportunities for women. In 1871, he helped a group of American women missionaries set up a school in Yokohama, and was later invited by the *Monbushō* to preside as headmaster over the foundation of the prestigious Tokyo Normal Women's School<sup>c</sup> in 1874.<sup>2</sup> In later years, he bequeathed the everyday running of his *Dōjinsha* school to Sugiura Jūgō, one of the government-sponsored students who arrived in Britain in 1876.

In addition to those in the capital, a number of travellers returning from Britain set up or promoted schools in provincial locations. This was influenced by Japan's long-established regional tradition of academic excellence in the

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a. 鍋島直柔

b. 東京専門学校

c. 東京女子師範学校

*hankō*,<sup>a</sup> the schools run by each *han* to educate their *samurai* élites. In the late 1860s, some *han* naturally enlisted the skills of their returning students in their existing schools, often bearing in mind that many of them had originally been sent abroad to pursue naval studies. Both Yamao Yōzō and Nomura Fumio, for example, were initially employed by their respective *han* to train their colleagues in the arts of shipbuilding and western studies they had learnt in Glasgow and Aberdeen respectively. Several Satsuma students taught at the *han*'s *Kaiseisho* college<sup>b</sup> in Kagoshima after their return. Ishimaru Toragorō from Hizen taught at the *Chienkan*,<sup>c</sup> the *han*'s centre of western learning in Nagasaki, and was entrusted with the task of transforming the navy's Dutch-style system into a régime modelled on the Royal Navy.<sup>3</sup>

Returning students, however, arrived back with more than simply a knowledge of military studies to impart. The involvement of Nakamura Masanao and other *bakufu* students at the *Gakumonsho* in Shizuoka was an example of a new educational centre emerging from a *hankō* in which their knowledge of British affairs and English books was directly incorporated into the curriculum.<sup>4</sup> Here, a balance between traditional Confucian learning and western studies was deliberately stressed in the daily régime, a feature also present in schools founded by other students like Baba Takeyoshi in Tokyo, and Katsube Kan'ichi in Igumo. Although originally a Chinese scholar himself, Katsube employed English texts he had brought back from Ireland at his *Hōmōkan* school,<sup>d</sup> dividing them into three separate grades of reading difficulty.<sup>5</sup>

Although barely known today, one singular example of a private school created by a student returning from Britain was the *Keirinsha*<sup>e</sup> which Ishimaru Toragorō founded in the town of Imari in Hizen in 1870. Using the services of an Irish engineer called Samuel John Morris on the teaching staff, the *Keirinsha* was instrumental in developing the Hizen area's traditionally high standards of technology into the Meiji period. Morris had originally been employed by Glover & Co to set up the Takashima coal mine project in 1868, but had then been brought to Imari by Ishimaru to develop the coalfields there.<sup>6</sup> Like a number of schools affected by the sweeping changes in education in the early Meiji years, no official records of the *Keirinsha* have survived. It lasted barely a year in Imari, and appears to have been transferred to Tokyo when Ishimaru was appointed

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- a. 藩校
  - b. 開成所
  - c. 致遠館
  - d. 包蒙館
  - e. 絳輪舎

head of the Telegraph Bureau in 1871. Nevertheless, it illustrates two important features often found in schools founded by Japanese returning from Britain. Firstly, it challenged commonly accepted practices of the day by permitting entry to all social classes, a feature also found at the Shizuoka *Gakumonsho*. Secondly, it created an educational legacy through its influence on the next generation of students, in this case engineers, including some who in turn went on to pursue their studies overseas.

The most celebrated student of the *Keirinsha* was Shida Rinzaburō who came from the nearby town of Taku. He was later to be Lord Kelvin's star pupil at Glasgow University in the early 1880s and went on to become a professor at Tokyo University, but it was the *Keirinsha* that perhaps played the most significant part in his early education. In spite of his undisputed talent as a boy in Taku, Shida had lacked the *samurai* status necessary to gain entry to the *Kōdōkan*<sup>a</sup> or the *Chienkan*, the Saga *han*'s higher schools of learning. He was admitted to the *Keirinsha*, however, and became one of a group of promising pupils that Ishimaru took with him to Tokyo, enabling him to continue his studies at the *Kōbu Daigakkō*. After graduating, he was sent to complete his education in Glasgow by the *Kōbushō*, twelve years after Ishimaru had first returned from Aberdeen.<sup>7</sup>

This example reveals a strong element of educational patronage, a feature also apparent at Fukuzawa Yukichi's *Keiō* school. As a renowned school of western learning, it attracted many who were perhaps predisposed to overseas travel, and encouraged talented students to pursue their research abroad. An early example was Baba Tatsui who, although sent to Britain at the expense of the Tosa *han*, maintained close relations with Fukuzawa for many years afterwards. Fukuzawa also took a personal interest in the education of Nakamigawa Hikojiro, a nephew of his from his home town of Nakatsu. It was Fukuzawa who provided the funds which enabled Nakamigawa and Koizumi Shinkichi,<sup>b</sup> another *Keiō* student, to study in Britain. Nakamigawa even had the luxury of being able to refuse an offer from the *Ōkurashō* to continue his studies in London under government sponsorship.<sup>8</sup>

Educational patronage like this in the early Meiji years could have long-term ramifications for the interrelated development of Japanese business and

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a. 弘道館

b. 小泉信吉

technology. It was in London, for example, that Nakamigawa had met Inoue Kaoru and developed a relationship that resulted in his close involvement with Mitsui business interests.<sup>9</sup> One of the transactions that he later made on Mitsui's behalf was to take over the Tanaka family factory, an electrical plant in Shibaura. This factory's development was closely related to the career of Tanaka Jōsuke,<sup>a</sup> one of the several promising engineers whom Ishimaru had called up to Tokyo from Imari in 1871. Tanaka's move to Tokyo resulted in an opportunity to study telegraph machinery in Europe as a member of the Japanese party at the Vienna Exhibition two years later. Under his guidance, the Telegraph Bureau's research institute then made such rapid progress in manufacturing serviceable machinery that the supervision of foreign *yatoi* engineers was soon dispensed with. The factory in Shibaura was originally developed as a research centre under the wing of the Telegraph Bureau and, under Mitsui ownership, was later merged with the Tokyo Electric Company in 1939 to form the modern day Tōshiba.<sup>10</sup>

Perhaps the most clear-cut example of experience of life in Britain directly influencing the style of education in Japan was in the case of the first schools for the blind and deaf. *Tansaku* works were instrumental in creating an awareness of such institutions. Fukuzawa had mentioned schools for the blind and schools for the deaf in Europe in his *Seiyō Jijō*. It was Nomura Fumio, however, who first introduced Japanese readers to the British system of schools for the blind and deaf in his *Seiyō Bunken Roku*, and argued for the creation of similar institutions in Japan.<sup>11</sup> Yamao Yōzō and Nakamura Masanao, both of whom studied in Britain during the 1860s, were to be most active in realising this ambition. Yamao had come into contact with deaf workers at the Napier shipyard in Glasgow and, in 1871, he made an official representation to the Emperor Meiji calling for the foundation of schools for the blind and deaf. His report persuaded the governor of Kyōto, Makimura Masanao,<sup>b</sup> to establish Japan's first school for the blind and deaf in the former imperial capital in 1878.<sup>12</sup>

As a *bakufu* student in London, Nakamura had visited a number of educational institutions and, as he observed these developments from his *Dōjinsha* school, he felt the need for a school for the blind in Tokyo. In 1875, he was one of the

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a. 田中常助

b. 榎村正直

leading founder members of the *Rakuzenkai*,<sup>a</sup> a group which was closely modelled on Christian organisations for the promotion of education for the blind and deaf. In 1878, he published a translated article from the Illustrated London News on the subject in his *Dōjinsha* school's *Bungaku Zasshi* magazine. It needed the intervention of Yamao in 1876 to remove the *Rakuzenkai*'s overtly Christian appearance which, until then, had prevented a favourable reaction from the Tokyo city authorities. Maejima Hisoka was also a member and, according to Janet Hunter, while he may not have been as greatly involved as Yamao, 'there is no doubt that especially in the matter of procuring official approval for the venture Maejima played a vital role'.<sup>13</sup> As a result of these efforts, the *Rakuzenkai* succeeded in opening a school for the blind in Tokyo in February 1880, and deaf students were also admitted four months later.<sup>14</sup>

In addition to promoting education, the Meiji government had hopes that this school could play a part in the strategy to give Japan the appearance of a modern civilized state in western terms, an image thought essential in preparing the way for revising the unequal treaties. It was built by Josiah Conder, the British architect responsible for a number of other grand projects of the time such as the *Rokumeikan*, the Deer Cry Pavilion. Unlike the *Rokumeikan*, however, this school was to become an enduring feature of modern Japanese society, and was the forerunner of the schools for the blind and deaf which are run by Tsukuba University today.<sup>15</sup>

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The *Monbushō* recall of students overseas in the early 1870s was the culmination of domestic circumstances set in train by the overthrow of the *bakufu* and the first dramatic increase in student numbers, particularly in Britain. In the short-term, it was a direct response, prompted by the *Ōkurashō*, to the unwelcome financial burden of supporting scores of students, many of whom had initially been sent overseas by separate *han*, and whose research to date had been largely beyond government control. In the event, it was almost exclusively these students who were actually ordered to return to Japan. Thereafter, only a limited number of highly trained individuals were granted government sponsorship to study abroad. As a result, the *Monbushō* recall brought about not only a

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a. 楽善会

significant reduction in the numbers of students overseas, but also presaged an end to the great variety of circumstances, programmes and political motives at both provincial and central government departmental levels that had been such a characterising feature of the Japanese in Britain in the early Meiji years.

In the turbulent years of the 1860s and the 1870s, the lives of many Japanese were irrevocably transformed. With overseas research so prohibitively expensive, travellers in Britain represented a substantial proportion of the privileged few who had immediate access to cultures and ideas abroad still denied most of their compatriots. Through their political affiliations and individual endeavours, many were able to play influential roles in shaping a society in transition in Meiji Japan. Following their return from Britain, the efforts many made to impart information they had acquired during their travels were collectively instrumental in initially accelerating the acceptance of western ideas, and in particular in fostering an appreciation of Victorian social and industrial advances. Thereafter, the writings of authorities on Victorian culture such as Nomura Fumio, Nakai Hiroshi and Sugiura Jūgō gradually provided impetus to a growing popular awareness of the limitations of Victorian civilization, in spite of its political and industrial preeminence. By pointing out the potential social consequences of rapid reform on western models, they helped to cool the indiscriminate enthusiasm for all western traits that had characterised the early Meiji years, and towards the end of the nineteenth century, figures like these were again to be found actively campaigning for a reappraisal of indigenous Japanese cultural values.

The impact made by Japanese returning from Britain is difficult to appraise in isolation, as it was just one facet of the wider Japanese experience of overseas travel. This in itself was only one of several interrelated avenues of cultural exchange, albeit the most direct method of investigating civilization in the West. During the 1870s, for example, the employment of several hundred British engineers made an indelible impact on the development of Japan's industrial infrastructure. Their contribution, however, was made possible through connections initially fostered by *mikkōsha* such as Yamao Yōzō and Godai Tomoatsu who were able to visit Britain in the 1860s. At the same time, their own opportunities for overseas travel had been dependent on the arrival of



merchant companies like Jardine Matheson following the opening of the treaty ports. Furthermore, many of those who had travelled to Britain were influenced by their experience of a number of different cultures. Hatakeyama Yoshinari, for example, brought several years experience of study in both Britain and America to bear on his reforms of the *Kaisei Gakkō* college. Nakamura Masanao's student days abroad may have been confined to London, but his celebrated receptivity to Christian ideas was due not to his experience of Britain alone, for he came under the influence of Methodist missionaries from America after he returned to Japan.

Nevertheless, the marked concentration of Japanese in Britain, and in London more than any other western capital, certainly reflected common cultural attitudes of the early Meiji years. It indicated a broadly held perception of Victorian civilization as a potential model of progress. Changing Japanese perceptions of Britain to be found in the writings of returning travellers thus reveal with particular clarity shifting attitudes towards the West as a whole during the most explosive years of *bunmei kaika*. Through the circulation of their ideas, particularly in politics, writing and education, those Japanese who had been in Britain in the 1860s and 1870s expressed their aspirations for the future, and exerted a significant influence on the outlook of the next generation in Meiji Japan.

## CONCLUSION

The development in Japanese perceptions and understanding of the West during the early years of overseas travel is a complex but vital area in understanding the psychology of the Meiji period. Through this study of shifts in the perception of one country, and bearing in mind that Victorian Britain was just one, albeit an influential element of the western world in the nineteenth century, we can observe the increasingly sophisticated cultural awareness shown by Japanese travellers during the 1860s and 1870s. The example of their experiences in Britain can thus be reviewed to illustrate the development in Japanese understanding of western civilization as a whole during the early years of overseas travel.

As I have shown in Chapter One, it is possible to trace the movements of Japanese travellers in Britain during this period in some detail, and with greater accuracy than can be found in any relevant Japanese reference works published to date. The extent of the boom in overseas travel can be measured, revealing that, during the early 1870s, there were often more than one hundred Japanese residents in Britain. In these years, the Japanese comprised the largest non-occidental student community in the country, and it was only later in the nineteenth century that they became outnumbered by students from India. It can also be seen how the numbers of Japanese in Britain progressively diminished later in the 1870s. This shows that the opening of Japan did not result in a gradual increase of overseas travellers during the second half of the nineteenth century. The first significant wave of overseas travel was actually curtailed in the 1870s, as Meiji bureaucratic reforms took control of the newly created centralised state.

As a result, the 1860s and 1870s can be viewed as a distinct period in the history of Japanese overseas travel, exhibiting a number of features that were petering out by 1876. By then, increasing specialisation among more limited numbers of overseas students was already changing the structure of overseas research. The first overseas investigations were thus not so much part of a larger Meiji educational tradition but more reminiscent of the political culture in Tokugawa Japan. After all, most of these travellers were still

representatives of the *bakuhān taisei*, having served in either the *bakufu* government or the provincial *han*. The energy expended by various *han* in training their *samurai* élites abroad following the overthrow of the Tokugawa régime can rather be seen as a last attempt to modernise and shape the future of their provincial domains. It was the competition generated between these *han* that led to such a rapid rise in the numbers of Japanese overseas in the early Meiji years.

This was a distinct historical phase, therefore, thrown up by internal disorder, and by the rapid disintegration and demise of Tokugawa political hegemony. It was to be curtailed by the concentration of power in the hands of the new centralised Meiji state. At the time, the Iwakura embassy outwardly seemed to be a part of this ever-expanding Japanese appetite for information and knowledge from overseas, but the new educational regulations that *Monbushō* officials were already considering during the course of the embassy's travels effectively signalled an end to the first significant wave in Japanese overseas travel in modern times.

The Japanese discovery of Europe as such predated this wave of overseas travel. The first significant research relating to the Far West was initially developed in the eighteenth century through the study of works in Dutch, and particularly after concerns over Russian ambitions in the north first raised questions over the security of the Tokugawa régime's 'great peace'. Ironically, Japanese interest in Britain as such was conspicuous by its absence for much of the Edo period, notwithstanding former trading ties with the English East India Company. In the eighteenth century, the British were paid almost no attention at all, even though their political and commercial influence was rapidly advancing elsewhere in Asia.

In the course of the nineteenth century, however, investigations of Britain increasingly exercised the minds of Japanese scholars as a result of the same security fears that had prompted research on Russia. This discovery of Britain went on to become a central part of the Japanese discovery of the western world in the nineteenth century. Through the research tradition fostered by scholars like Watanabe Kazan or Ōtsuki Gentaku, whether prompted by curiosity or fear,

Britain attracted the greatest attention among the first *tansaku* works to be compiled on the strength of observations abroad.

These travellers' perceptions were necessarily subjective. They were constrained by the very motives which compelled them to venture overseas, and by the timing of their encounter with the outside world. In addition to their Confucian educational background and their self-awareness as members of the ruling *samurai* class, their observations were initially affected by concerns of political security, the desire to protect Japan's shores from the encroachment of the western powers. Furthermore, while scholars had pointed out the increasing dangers posed to the Tokugawa order by European powers' incursions in Asia, the first overseas travellers' encounters with the western world were, through the logic of *sakoku*, delayed until the moment of maximum cultural impact, when the disparity in technological capability that Britain most clearly represented at the time forced the opening of the treaty ports to overseas trade. These conditions were inherent in the cultural discovery of the Victorian world, and the resulting research by overseas travellers in the 1860s and 1870s was to provide an enduring basis for the understanding of British society among subsequent generations in Japan.

Japanese travellers' first encounters with European civilization can be most vividly revealed in their diaries, many of which have only come to light in recent years. Here I have demonstrated through a cross-section of a number of these diaries from 1862 to 1868 that, in some respects, this cultural encounter did not occur in Europe at all, but during the long voyage from Japan. These records can reveal the psychology of individual travellers' experiences overseas, and collectively demonstrate a keenly felt common awareness of a technology gap that was to provide the impetus for the construction programmes undertaken by the *Kōbushō* under British supervision during the 1870s. They show graphically how, at a time when the horse was still the fastest means of transport in Japan, they discovered and recorded the experience of travel by steam train or correspondence by telegraph.

Such diaries also indicate how uncomfortable Japanese travellers felt on observing other Asian populations under foreign subjugation during their voyage

to Europe. Some felt threatened enough to try and culturally dissociate themselves from the Chinese they saw and belittled in Shanghai and Hong Kong. As their journey progressed, they became more aware of the full extent of British colonial power which they encountered repeatedly in ports like Singapore, Aden and Malta, and some paid increasingly serious attention to the ways in which modern technology and steam ships facilitated the promotion of commerce.

Following their arrival in Britain, many Japanese travellers found that their experiences there enabled them to reevaluate their attitudes towards their homeland. Those on long-term study courses could gradually develop a heightened sense of national consciousness and political awareness through a combination of their own sense of isolation, a growing camaraderie among Japanese students from diverse provincial backgrounds, and their own defensive responses to Victorian misconceptions of Japan. These attitudes were certainly apparent in the activities of the *Kyōzon Dōshū*, the society that Ono Azusa founded in 1874 to unite Japanese students returning from Britain. This contributed a distinctly Victorian liberal flavour to political debate in Japan, even if the logic was used against British interests in the treaty ports.

Japanese students' political responses to life in Britain were comparable with but intrinsically different to those displayed by other Asian students there. Japanese students did not possess the colonial background that dominated the education of Indian students even before they left for Europe. Most travellers in the 1860s, for example, made their first steps in English only after years of learning Dutch. Their education was organised along traditional Japanese lines in their provincial *hankō*, and even those who took lessons in *yōgaku* in treaty ports like Yokohama and Nagasaki relied primarily on works in Dutch to supplement their knowledge of the West.

Nevertheless, both Japanese and Indian students in Britain may have shared some experiences, and some Japanese students in the 1870s such as Baba Tatsui were in contact with the National Indian Association. There was, for example, a natural reaction against the paternal role of the host nation, a common overseas student experience regardless of the circumstances. More specifically, there was

a common antipathy towards British encroachment in Asia. For Indian students, 'although British rule was often the subject of criticism, nevertheless it was Britain which provided the yardstick [*sic*] on which to measure India's achievements and aspirations'.<sup>1</sup> Though Japan was certainly no colony, Japanese travellers in Britain were also fighting their own battle for independence, expressed with clarity in their criticism of the unequal treaties and the attitudes of westerners in the treaty ports. In the works of *tansaku* scholars as well as diarists, there was also a marked tendency to invoke Britain, the preeminent imperial power in Asia, as a yardstick by which to gauge the future prospects for Japan.

Like Indian students, the Japanese in Britain could have ambivalent reactions to the society they observed, and like Nakamigawa Hikojirō, for example, feelings of both rejection and admiration of the Victorian world often co-existed among the perceptions they took home to Japan. Nevertheless, as a result perhaps of the differing domestic political considerations in India and Japan, these could lead to very different conclusions. To Indian students, Britain ultimately represented colonial rule, and one Indian student commented that 'there was an attraction to English thought but not to England'. Lahiri characterises this tension as two nations, 'not north or south, rich or poor, but liberal and imperialist'. Another Indian student spoke in terms of 'the better and more idealistic side as opposed to the more raucous, imperialistic attitudes of numerous Kiplings and Cecil Rhodes'.<sup>2</sup>

The Japanese, however, had no colonial past to come to terms with. Instead, they had an immense pride in their own independent heritage, clearly apparent in the diffusion of *kokugaku* studies and the development of the *jōi* movement. While Japanese travellers could rail against the injustice of the unequal treaties with injured national pride, there was little sense of any contradiction between the two poles of Britain's admirable liberal theory and the reprehensible reality of imperial power in Asia. Indeed, the avowed motive of the long-standing tradition of *tansaku* research on Britain was to understand the source of British power, and successive works, including those of Fukuzawa and Nomura, had reinforced the abiding message of a causal link between the political freedom that Victorians cherished so much, and the pre-eminence of

their worldwide empire. When Japanese diarists could not contain their anger at the extent of British control which they observed at ports of call during their voyage, this was not so much the resentment of colonial subjects, but rather a combination of jealous admiration and apprehension for the security of Japan. As members of the ruling *samurai* class, these diarists respected the exercise of power, and reserved their most severe condemnation for the servility of the subject populations they saw.

*Samurai* travellers believed themselves to be at least agents, if not masters, of their own destiny, and were convinced that their research was significant in charting the future of Japan. This notion was fostered by the volatile political conspiracies and developments in the final years of Tokugawa power. They were not, like Indian students, being trained for enlistment in the colonial civil service or the medical and legal professions. Nor were they, in most cases, like Chinese students who later studied in Japan at the end of the century, being trained 'to fill slots in the new schools and new army units'.<sup>3</sup> In the 1870s and 1880s, some Chinese students also trained in military studies in Britain and France. They were thus comparable with Japanese students of the early 1860s, most of whom were sent overseas specifically in order to pursue naval studies. Japanese students, however, were quick to develop a wider appetite for science and technology and expanded their range of studies into a variety of fields they considered necessary to administer a modernising Meiji state.

Japanese students' experience in Britain must be viewed as a highly interactive process, for they soon discovered that their academic plans were subject to circumstances and the constraints of everyday life, and often controlled by their Victorian contacts and mentors. The *bakufu* students, for example, appear to have been sent to UCL School against their will, although one of them, Kikuchi Dairoku, later chose to return there to complete his preparatory education. Furthermore, students often left Britain, not because they had completed their intended studies, but because political and financial circumstances demanded they return to Japan.

In many cases, circumstances unforeseen at the time of embarkation were to play

a central role in Japanese students' experience in Britain and their later lives. In their memoirs, such unscheduled departures could either be erased from memory or invoked as proof of their services in helping to build the Meiji state. However unexpected or even inconvenient to their authors, such ventures contributed to the development of cultural relations between Japan and the Victorian world. Their overseas experience was not just a passing phase in their education which they could simply shelve before returning to assume important roles in the state administration. Ozaki Saburō attempted to present his autobiography as such, but had to erase all traces of his marriage to Bathia Morrison and their entangled divorce in order to do so. The artistic interests that some students like Kunizawa Shinkurō and Hyakutake Kaneyuki developed in London were similarly the result of circumstance and opportunity. Kunizawa's decision to specialise in oil painting was influenced by failing health, but he claimed his interest in art was primarily motivated by a desire to introduce western knowledge to Japan in visual terms. Similarly, Minami Teisuke's activities in launching the first Japanese newspaper in Britain were undertaken with a view to diffusing knowledge from the West to Japanese students and, through the treaty ports to readers in Japan. Like his failed career as a director of the American Joint Stock Bank in Charing Cross, this decision was one consequence of his marriage to Liza Pitman, a marriage he later described in his memoirs as motivated by a desire to introduce new blood to Japan.

Research of any length and depth in Britain, therefore, was not simply a process of accumulating information and returning to the land they had left. Many Japanese travellers were irrevocably changed by their experience in Britain and, as a result of the volatile changes in Japan in the late Tokugawa and early Meiji years, they could find that the country they had left or the régime which had sent them abroad was no longer even there on their return. After their return, overseas students were able to rise to positions of influence in the government, particularly if *hanbatsu* interests worked in their favour. The Meiji authorities became highly selective in choosing western models according to their perceived utility to Japan and, while British influence in financial affairs, engineering and the navy was particularly apparent, practices followed by other government departments were derived from countries like America, France



and Germany.

While travellers returning from Britain during this period made a considerable political impact, it was perhaps through their activities in education, publishing and journalism that their views were most widely circulated to the Meiji public. The most concentrated efforts to summarise the results of research undertaken in Britain were *tansaku* investigations. These were the extension of decades of research developed before the opening of the country by scholars like Honda Toshiaki and Watanabe Kazan. The Hizen *han* took the initiative with overseas *tansaku* investigations during the *bakufu* mission to America, but the first systematic reports on conditions in Europe were compiled on *bakufu* orders during the Takenouchi mission in 1862. This research provided Fukuzawa Yukichi with the impetus he needed to compile his best-selling *Seiyō Jijō*.

As a result of overseas travel during the 1860s and 1870s, Japanese perceptions of Victorian Britain and the western world took a leap forward in sophistication. Whereas scholars had previously relied on Chinese and Dutch sources, first-hand observation and access to works in English enabled *tansaku* scholars to construct more detailed portraits of an industrial society and democratic style of government, and the features which they emphasised have since continued to underpin Japanese perceptions of Britain. Less immediately apparent are the actual processes and stages through which these images were developed and extrapolated in Japan. Important stages certainly include the initial publication of Fukuzawa's *Seiyō Jijō* in 1866 and the publication of Kume Kunitake's *Kairan Jikki* in 1878. Kume's work described the travels of the Iwakura embassy which departed nearly a decade after Fukuzawa's involvement as a member of the *tansaku* research team with the Takenouchi mission. Taking the example of Nomura Fumio's *Seiyō Bunken Roku* within the context of Japanese research on Britain, however, the leap in sophistication in Japanese perceptions that evidently took place between works like *Seiyō Jijō* and *Kairan Jikki* can be identified not just as the result of Kume's own discovery of new ideas during his experiences abroad, but rather as a product of the cumulative experience transmitted orally or in print by students returning from overseas during the intervening years. *Seiyō Bunken Roku*, for example, drew on first-hand experience

of Victorian everyday life that Fukuzawa had little opportunity to observe, and which had not featured in *Seiyō Jijō*. Kume's own training was not in western studies, and it was on information such as this that he relied. His personal discovery of the West was heavily influenced by returning students such as Ishimaru Toragorō, also from Hizen, following his arrival back from Aberdeen, and Hatakeyama Yoshinari, one of the first Satsuma students in Britain, who helped him write up his *Kairan Jikki*.

Viewed in this light, Kume's *Kairan Jikki* was not so much a new seam of knowledge to be mined by subsequent research. It gave no impetus to any new departures in *tansaku* research revealing the nature of British or western society to the reading public. It was published in an age of increasing specialisation in which educational reforms had already reduced opportunities to study abroad to a handful of highly-qualified graduates pursuing their research within the confines of academic disciplines in western universities. In terms of the transmission of ideas, therefore, it was rather the culmination of developments in *tansaku* research conducted during the early years of overseas travel in the 1860s and 1870s, a process in which the first generation of students played a leading role.

Victorian Britain held a pre-eminent place within the western world that these *tansaku* researchers presented to their readers. Partly as a result of this emphasis, no western capital had a larger Japanese student population than London. Studies in Britain were thus a central component of the Japanese discovery of the West in this initial stage of overseas travel. When they turned to the subject of power, it was British colonies that concentrated their thoughts, just as it was London that they cited as the most prosperous commercial metropolis, even if it was considered less beautiful than Paris.

Before the opening of Japan, Britain had been feared as a threat to the stability of the Tokugawa world. Research on this one country was developed primarily as a response, and resulted in an image of Britain as a potential model for development in the pursuit of progress and security. The reservations that overseas students increasingly expressed in the 1870s concerning the potential drawbacks of western-style progress could thus be made most

effectively by emphasising that Victorian society was even overdeveloped, or exhibited flaws in spite of its development.

In 1873, when one student chose to expound on the theme of progress following his arrival in London, for example, he referred to the Victorian capital as a natural yardstick for measuring the advantages of development in the West as a whole. In an anonymous letter in the *Shinbun Zasshi* newspaper, described simply as having been 'sent by a student in London to his relatives', he observed that, 'in the streets of London, carriages go back and forth, and passenger steam trains run underground. There is nothing more convenient, for you can travel anywhere for two or three hundred *sen* without tiring your legs at all'. The writer felt compelled, however, to dampen his relatives' enthusiasm for Victorian innovation. 'Britain has the reputation of being an enlightened civilization in our country, but there are times nevertheless when it is not so much enlightened as simply habit-forming, when being too developed is to be inferior to no development at all'.<sup>4</sup>

In some respects, this judgement was advanced for its time. It was delivered at a time when the attraction of receiving even a general education in London had reached unparalleled heights in Japan, and when Minami's *Taisei Shinbun* had just appeared in print to diffuse western knowledge from London to students and other readers in the treaty ports. Nevertheless, it captured in a real sense a significant shift in Japanese perceptions of the outside world, a change which can be attributed to the cumulative investigations of the first generation of overseas students. Initiated by the efforts of writers like Nomura Fumio, it was increasingly evident in Japanese observations during the 1870s as commentators like Nakai Hiroshi and Nakamigawa Hikojirō highlighted the social problems they saw in London. For the inquisitive generation in the early years of overseas travel, the Victorian world had symbolised Japanese expectations of western civilization and their aspirations for progress. Before the end of the first decade of the Meiji era, these hopes had been modified by a growing awareness of Britain's limitations as a source of reference for planning the future of Japan.

## APPENDIX

Selection of biographical notes of Japanese travellers whose diaries, letters, related publications or memoirs are cited in the text.

Baba Tatsui (1850-88) Tosa *han*.

1870-1, one of five Tosa students who stayed in Wiltshire. Lived in London during mid 1870s. 1872, founded Society of Japanese Students in London. Politically active in promoting liberal rights, and fiercely critical of Meiji régime. Died in Philadelphia during lecture tour promoting his ideas.

Fuchinabe Tokuzō *bakufu* official

1862, travelled in smaller party with Rutherford Alcock, joining the Takenouchi mission in London. About 45 years old at the time. Wrote *Ōkō Nikki*.

Fukuchi Gen'ichirō (1841-1906) from Nagasaki.

Trained as Dutch, then English interpreter. 1862 Takenouchi mission. 1865-6 Shibata mission. 1871-3 Iwakura embassy. Active in promotion of journalism, and worked as editor of *Tokyo Nichi-nichi Shinbun*.

Fukuda Sakutarō (1833-1910) *bakufu* official

1862 Takenouchi mission. Supervised editing of *Eikoku Tansaku* and reports on other European countries visited. Later joined Meiji government, serving in the Telegraph Bureau and rising to the post of vice-chief of the Hygiene Department in the Ministry of the Interior.

Fukuzawa Yukichi (1835-1901) Nakatsu *han*

Dutch, then English interpreter. 1860 *bakufu* mission to America. 1862 Takenouchi mission to Europe. Wrote *Seikō Ki*. 1866, volume 1 of his *Seiyō Jijō* published. Influential figure in Meiji enlightenment, member of *Meiropkusha* and founder of *Keiō Gijuku*. 1882, set up *Jiji Shinpō* newspaper.

Godai Tomoatsu [Seki Kenzō] (1836-85) Satsuma *han*

1862 *bakufu* part to Shanghai. Planned 1865 Satsuma expedition to Britain. Led smaller party on observation tours in Britain and on the continent. His plans for a trading company with Henri le Comte de Montblanc were unsuccessful. Wrote *Kaikoku Nikki*. Later influential in developing Ōsaka into a commercial centre, ordering machinery for the Imperial mint and setting up the Chamber of Commerce.

Hanabusa Yoshimoto (1842-1917) Okayama *han*.

Trained in Dutch Studies. 1867-8, visited Paris, Britain and America. Wrote *Ikyō Gaiyū Ki*. Became diplomat, serving as minister in various countries, including Korea and Russia. Later head of the Japanese Red Cross.

Hatakeyama Yoshinari [Sugiura Kōzō] (1843-76) Satsuma *han*.

1865 Satsuma expedition. Wrote *Yōkō Nikki*. 1865-67, studied at UCL. 1866, wrote *Eifutsu Kikō*. 1867, joined Christian colony in America. 1868-71 Rutgers

University. Joined Iwakura embassy and entered *Monbushō*. First head of *Kaisei Gakkō*, and head of Tokyo museum and library. 1876, died on way back from Philadelphia Exhibition.

Ichikawa Seiryū [Wataru] (1824- ?) *bakufu* official

1862 Takenouchi mission. 1863 published his diary, *Biyō Ōkō Manroku*. 1869, joined *Monbushō*. 1872, recommended establishment of national library. Later worked for *Tokyo Nichi-nichi Shinbō*.

Kawaji Tarō (1845-1927) *bakufu* official. 1866-1868

Director of *bakufu* students in Britain. Studied briefly at UCL School in 1868. Wrote *Eikō Nichiroku* and *Taiei Nisshi*. Later diplomat, joined Iwakura embassy. After failed business ventures, became headmaster of several schools, mainly around Kōbe.

Kikuchi Dairoku [formerly Mitsukuri Dairoku] (1855-1917)

1866-68, *bakufu* student in Britain, studying briefly at UCL School in 1868. Wrote *Eikō Nikki* diary. 1870, returned to UCL School; 1873 entered Cambridge University, graduating in 1876. First professor of Mathematics at Tokyo University, then President of the university, also serving as Minister of Education.

Koide Sennosuke (? -1868) *Hizen han*

1860 *bakufu* mission to America. 1867, interpreter during *Hizen han*'s delegation to Paris Exposition. 1868, head of *Chienkan*, *Saga han*'s English school in Nagasaki but died in riding accident.

Koma Rinnosuke *Echizen han*

1868-74, studied in London. Later joined *Kōbushō* and held a management position in Sado coal mine.

Kume Kunitake (1839-1931) *Hizen han*

Confucian scholar. Accompanied Iwakura embassy and kept records of their travels. Later wrote up official record of the embassy, published as *Tokumei Zenken Taishi Bei-Ō Kairan Jikki* in 1878. Promoted study of Japanese history, and became professor at Tokyo University but resigned after receiving criticism from extreme nationalists, and retired to write historical works.

Mashizu Shunjiro (1829-1900) *bakufu* official

1860 *bakufu* mission to America. 1862, Takenouchi mission to Europe. Wrote *Ōkō Ki*.

Matsuki Kōan, see Terashima Munenori

Matsumura Junzō [formerly Ichiki Kanjūrō] (1842-1919) *Satsuma han*.

1865 Satsuma expedition to Europe. Wrote *Yōkō Nikki*. 1867, left Britain and entered Christian colony in America. 1868-73 Annapolis Naval Academy. Later head of the Japanese naval college.

Minami Teisuke (1847-1915) *Chōshū han*

Nephew of Takasugi Shinsaku. Spent much of 1865 to 1873 in London, studying at

UCL and Woolwich Military Academy. Worked in bank, helped set up first Japanese newspaper in Britain. Married Lisa Pitman. Later Japanese consul in Hong Kong.  
Mori Arinori [Sawai Tetsuma] (1847-89) Satsuma *han*

1865 Satsuma expedition. 1865-7, studied at UCL. 1866, wrote *Kōro Kikō*. 1867, joined Christian colony in America. 1868, returned to Japan and became outspoken advocate of reform, e.g. proposed abolition of swords. 1870, first Japanese Minister in America, 1873 founded *Meiropkusha* and became influential, Christian-oriented advocate of western rationalism. Later Minister in Britain. While drawing on ideas from abroad, his sweeping reforms as Minister of Education had a strong Japanese nationalistic flavour. Assassinated in 1889.

Nakai Hiroshi (1838-94) Satsuma *han*

Left Satsuma and became closely connected with Tosa *han*. 1866-7, visited Britain, and wrote *Kōkai Shinsetsu* which he published soon after his return. During 1870s, served in Japanese Legation in London and published his *Man'yū Kitei* in 1877. Later governor of Kyōto.

Nakamigawa Hikojiro (1854-1901) Nakatsu *han*

Fukuzawa Yukichi's nephew, studied at *Keiō*. Spent 1874 to 1877 in Britain where he met Inoue Kaoru. Later became powerful figure in Mitsui business empire.

Nanjō Bunyū (1849-1927)

Born in Gifu, became Buddhist priest at Higashi Honganji temple in 1873. 1876-84, studied Sanskrit under Max Müller at Oxford, collaborating with him to produce English translations of Buddhist texts. Later president of Shinshū Otani University. wrote memoirs, *Kaikyū Roku*, and many Chinese poems.

Nire Kagenori (1831-1900) Satsuma *han*

*Jōi* sympathiser. 1866-8, visited Britain and America. Wrote *Kōbei Nikki*. Later held high posts in the Imperial Navy, exerting influence as head of the Japanese Naval College.

Nomura Fumio [Murata Fumio] (1836-91) Hiroshima *han*

Studied Dutch in Ōsaka, then English in Nagasaki. 1865, travelled to Britain and studied in Aberdeen until 1867. Published first volume of *Seiyō Bunken Roku* in 1869. Later served in *Kōbushō* but left the government to found the satirical journal *Maru-maru Chinbun*.

Nonaka Motoemon (1812-67) Hizen *han*

Merchant. 1867, journeyed to Paris for Exposition with Hizen delegation. Wrote *Fukukoku Kōro Ki*. Died of cholera shortly after arrival in Paris.

Nozawa Yūta *bakufu* official.

1862 Takenouchi mission. Wrote *Ken-Ō Shisetsu Kōkai Nichiroku*.

Okada Setsuzō *bakufu* official

1865-6 accompanied Shibata delegation to France and Britain. Wrote *Kōsei Shōki*.

Ozaki Saburō [Toda Saburō] (1842-1918)

Born in Kyōto, became retainer to Sanjō family. 1868-73 Studied in Britain, temporarily at UCL. Married Bathia Morrison. Later held high office in various administrative departments, and served as Minister of Justice.

Sano Tsunetami [Sano Eijūzaemon] (1823-1902) *Hizen han*

Leading figure in developing Hizen's navy and technological research. 1867-8, head of Hizen delegation to Paris. Wrote *Tofutsu Nikki* and *Zaiō Nikki*. 1873, head of Japanese delegation to Vienna exhibition. Later founder of Japanese Red Cross, and served as minister in various ministries, including finance.

Shibata Takenaka (1823-77) *bakufu* retainer, born in Edo

Commissioner of Foreign Affairs. 1862; Takenouchi mission. 1865-6, head of *bakufu* delegation to France and Britain. Wrote *Futsuei Yuki*. Arranged purchase of machinery and employment of experts from France. Later governor of Ōsaka and Hyōgo. Supplied diplomatic advice during Meiji period, but not in office.

Takashima Sukehiro Dutch-style doctor employed by *bakufu*

1862 Takenouchi mission. About 30 years old at the time. Published his *Ōsei Kikō* in 1867. 1868-69, served in Hakodate during civil war.

Terashima Munenori [formerly Matsuki Kōan] (1832-93) Dutch-style doctor. Satsuma *han*. Employed by *bakufu* at *Bansho Shirabesho*. 1862 Takenouchi mission. 1865 Satsuma expedition. Opened diplomatic dialogue with Foreign Office. Influential Meiji diplomat, became Minister to Britain and USA and Minister of Foreign Affairs.

Tōgō Heihachirō (1848-1934) Satsuma *han*

One of 12 naval students sent to Britain by government in 1871. Returned to Japan in 1878 and went on to become admiral, renowned for victories at sea during the Sino-Japanese and Russo-Japanese wars.

Yamanouchi Sakuzaemon (1838-88) *bakufu* official.

Served in Hakodate. 1865-67, director of *bakufu* students in Russia. Wrote *Rokō Ki*. Later developed pharmaceutical stores in Yokohama and Tokyo. Died of cholera.

## GLOSSARY

- bakufu* -government of the *shōgun*  
*baku-han* -modern term for the Tokugawa administrative system with the *shōgun*'s government (*bakufu*) exercising authority over *daimyō* domains (*han*)  
*bakumatsu* -the final years of the Tokugawa *bakufu* and the Edo period  
*bu* -unit of measurement, approximately 0.303 cm. Also unit of currency.  
*bunmei kaika* -'the progress of civilization', a term used to describe development in western countries current during the 'Meiji enlightenment'  
*chō* -unit of measurement, approximately 109 metres (60 *ken* )  
*daimyō* -after the 15th century, a local magnate with territory producing 10,000 *koku* of rice or more  
*fukoku kyōhei* -'prosperous nation and strong army', a political slogan designed to combat the threat of encroachment by western powers, and influential in shaping Meiji policy  
*Gaiatsu* -'Foreign pressure', the encroachment of the western powers  
*Gaimushō* -Meiji Ministry of Foreign Affairs  
*haihan chiken* -'Abolition of *han* and establishment of *ken* (prefectures)' act, 1871 reform replacing the *han* with a centralised state  
*han* -a *daimyō* domain  
*Hyōbushō* -Meiji Ministry of Military Affairs  
*jō* -unit of measurement, approximately 3.03 m (10 *shaku* )  
*jōi* -slogan literally meaning 'expel the barbarian', often used together with *sonnō* ('revere the emperor') by the xenophobic movement opposed to the *bakufu*'s decision to open Japan to the western powers  
*kaikoku* -the opening of the country  
*ken* -unit of measurement, approximately 1.8 metres  
*Kōbushō* -Meiji Ministry of Public Works  
*kokkin* -prohibitive law, e.g. outlawing overseas travel  
*mikkōsha* -travellers who escaped overseas illegally  
*monbatsu* -high-class *samurai* related to the family of the *daimyō*  
*Monbushō* -Meiji Ministry of Education  
*Naimushō* -Meiji Ministry of the Interior  
*Ōkurashō* -Meiji Ministry of Finance  
*rangaku* -Dutch studies  
*ri* -unit of measurement, approximately 3,927 metres (36 *chō* )  
*ryō* -unit of gold currency (4 *bu*)  
*sun* -unit of measurement, approximately 3.03 cm  
*shaku* -unit of measurement, approximately 30.3 cm (10 *sun*)  
*yōgaku* -western studies  
*zeni* -unit of currency (one tenth of one *ryō*)



## Notes

### INTRODUCTION

1. Inuzuka Takaaki, *Satsuma Han Eikoku Ryūgakusei*, (Tokyo, 1974), translated into English under the title of *The Satsuma Students in Britain* (unpublished)  
A. Cobbing, *Bakumatsu Saga Han no Taigai Kankei no Kenkyū*, (Saga, 1994)  
This contains transcriptions of diaries and memoranda written by Sano Tsunetami during his overseas travels in 1867 and 1868.

### CHAPTER ONE

#### Sakoku law and the ban on overseas travel

1. Iwao Seiichi, *Nanyō Nihon Machi no Kenkyū*, vol.1 (Tokyo, 1966), pp.144, 148  
By 1718, the Japanese quarter in Bangkok had become just a name.
  2. D. Massarella, *A World Elsewhere - Europe's Encounter with Japan in the 16th and 17th Centuries* (Yale, 1990), pp.47-8, 169-70  
For details of the *Keichō* mission, see  
Matsuda Kiichi, *Keichō Ken-Ō Shisetsu* (Tokyo, 1992)
  3. Massarella, p.48
  4. John Vincent to Sir Frances Englefield, 21 June 1593  
M. A. Everett Green (ed.), *Calendar of State Papers Domestic 1591-1594*, (London, 1867) p.356. John Vincent, a Catholic, wrote this letter in Brazil.
  5. Court Minutes of the East India Company, 26 January, 1615  
A. Farrington, *The English Factory in Japan 1611-1623*, vol.1, (London, 1991), p.277
  6. PRO SP/16/4/74, f.38; SO/3/12, f.18; C/66/2825 no.35  
W.A. Shaw ed., 'Letters of Denization and Acts of Naturalization for Aliens in England and Ireland 1603-1700'  
*Publications of the Huguenot Society of London*, XVII, 1911, p.60  
Cited in Massarella, pp.321-2. What later became of Eaton is unknown.
  7. Nōtomi Kaijirō, 'Shanghai Zakki', printed in *Bunkiyū Ninen Shanghai Nikki* (Tokyo, 1949), p.12  
The Ryūkyū islands had continued to send delegations to China during the Edo period to reaffirm their status as a dependency of the Heavenly Kingdom.
  8. Watanabe Minoru, *Kindai Nihon Kaigai Ryūgakusei Shi*, vol.1 (Tokyo, 1977) p.40
  9. Ibid., p.46
  10. Ichikawa Wataru, 'Biyō Ōkō Manroku', rendered into modern Japanese in Kusuya Shigetoshi, *Bakumatsu Ōshū Kenbun Roku*, (Tokyo 1992), p.45
- #### Bakufu diplomatic missions
1. Numata Jirō & Matsuzawa Hiroaki, eds., *Seiyō Kenbun Shū - Nihon Shisō Taikei*, vol.66, (Tokyo, 1974), pp.588-94

2. Ishii Takashi, *Zōtei Bakumatsu Ishin Ki no Kokusai-teki Kankyō* (Tokyo, 1966) p.319

Suzuki Akira, *Ishin Zenya*, (Tokyo, 1988), pp.317-8

3. W.G. Beasley, *Japan Encounters the Barbarian*  
 - *Japanese Travellers in America and Europe* (Yale, 1995), p.102

#### Bakufu students

1. Mori Arinori, 'Kōro Ki', printed in *Gekkan Roshia*, vol.7, no.4, p.20

#### Illegal students, the mikkōsha

1. In later life, Tachibana was known as Masuda Kōsai
2. Shunpo Tsuishō Kai, *Itō Hirobumi Den*, vol.2 (Tokyo, 1943), p.112
3. The most detailed account of the Satsuma mission is

Inuzuka Takaaki, *Satsuma Han Eikoku Ryūgakusei*,

Correspondence with Inuzuka Takaaki has revealed that there has been some confusion over the pronunciation of Satsuma students' names in English works to date. Two of them, for example, have been presented as Samejima Naonobu and Nagoshi Heima (Tokinari). This is how they appear in W.G. Beasley's *Japan Encounters the Barbarian* (pp.133, 145, 189). In their native Satsuma, however, these family names are pronounced Sameshima and Nagoya. The student who shared a room with Nagoya in London later described him with the three Chinese characters for the city of Nagoya.

Another similar example is the case of Yamaguchi, the vice-minister of Foreign Affairs who accompanied the Iwakura embassy in the early 1870s. Even in the official list published in *The Times* on 19 August 1872, his given name was presented as 'Naoyoshi', a convention now adopted in English works (e.g. *Japan Encounters the Barbarian*, *op cit*, p.157, 161). In his native Hizen, however, the correct pronunciation of his given name is *Masuka* using the same Chinese characters (尚芳), and it was under this name that he was presented to Queen Victoria. See *The Times*, 7 December 1872

Beasley also refers to Yamao Kenzō and Hanabusa Yoshitomo. (pp.130, 190, 192). The correct readings are Yamao Yōzō and Hanabusa Yoshimoto, not Yoshitada as suggested by S. Devere Brown in *The Diary of Kido Takayoshi*, vol 2 (Tokyo, 1987), p.436

4. Minami Teisuke, 'Minami Teisuke Jiden', printed in *Shinkyū Jidai*, vol.3, (1927), p.28
5. Nomura Fumio, 'Jōsa Nichiroku', printed in Tokyo Daigaku Meiji Shinbun Zasshi Bunko, *Maru-maru Chinbun*, [reproduction] (Tokyo 1982), p.40
6. A. Cobbing, *Saga Han no Taigai Kankei*, pp.110-1
7. Sano Tsunetami, 'Meiji Gannen Taiō Nikki', printed in *Ibid.*, p.169
8. Nire Kagenori, 'Kōbei Nikki', printed in *Kagoshima Kenritsu Tanki Daigaku Chiiki Kenkyūsho Kenkyū Nenpō*, No.13 (1985), pp.64-68

9. The order for Isonaga Hikosuke's mission to Koshiki Island can be found in 'Isonaga Hikosuke Koshiki Tō sono hoka Ōshima shosho e Go-temoto Go-yō' (Kagoshima Kenritsu Toshokan). Isonaga is better known as Nagasawa Kanae.
10. Nomura, 'Jōsa Nichiroku', pp.17-9
11. Nagakuni Junya, *Tosa Han Ryūgakusei Ibun* (Kōchi, 1989), pp.101-2
12. Memorandum by Reginald Russell, 1 July 1864, F046/49
13. Shibata Takenaka, 'Futsuei Kō', printed in *Seiyō Kenbun Shū* pp.301, 328, 374, 379  
Mori Arinori, 'Kōro Kikō', pp.5-6  
When he met the *bakufu* students in Russia, Mori noted with relief that 'fortunately, they have not embraced the spirit of Kantō', *Ibid.*, p.20
14. Kawaji Tarō, 'Taiei Nisshi', partially printed in Kawaji Ryūkō, *Kokusen Ki* (Tokyo, 1953), p.192
15. W.V. Lloyd to E. Hammond, 7 September 1867  
E. Hammond to W.V. Lloyd, 9 September 1867, F.O. 46/86
16. *Arita Chō Shi - Seiji/Shakai Hen 2*, (Tokyo, 1986), p.56
17. Nabeshima Kōshaku Ke Hensan Kai, *Nabeshima Naomasa Kōden*, vol.5, (Tokyo, 1920), p.561
18. Hatakeyama Yoshinari, 'Yōkō Nikki' printed in *Kagoshima Kenritsu Tanki Daigaku Chiiki Kenkyūsho Kenkyū Nenpō*, no.6, (1978), pp.76-9  
The ship that the Satsuma students boarded was described phonetically in Hatakeyama Yoshinari's diary as Ōsutaraien (オースタライエン). Although this may have been a misreading of *Australian*, issues of the *Japan Herald* in the mid 1860s do refer to a ship called the *Australain* owned by Glover & Co. engaged in the silk trade; e.g. *Japan Herald*, No.167, 6 May 1865, p.644
19. There is a long-standing claim, circulated mainly in English, that Glover was behind the escape of the five Chōshū students in 1863. This was initiated perhaps by William Griffis in his 1906 notes to Brunton's memoirs, later published as *Building Japan 1868-1876* (Folkestone 1991) p.166.  
The idea was popularised by M. Paske Smith in *Western Barbarians in Japan and Formosa in Tokugawa Days 1603-1868* (Kōbe 1930) p.265  
More recently, this interpretation has gained widespread acceptance in works such as:  
H. Cortazzi, *Victorians in Japan* (London 1987) p.25  
S. Devere Brown, 'Nagasaki in the Meiji Restoration: Choshu Loyalists and British Arms Merchants' in *Crossroads - A Journal of Nagasaki History and Culture*, No.1 Summer 1993, p.16  
A. McKay, *The Scottish Samurai* (Edinburgh, 1993) p.38

Japanese primary documents written by the Chōshū students themselves at the time, however, demonstrate that their escape was entirely the work of S. J. Gower, the Jardine Matheson & Co representative in Yokohama. See: *Itō Hirobumi Den*, vol.1, pp.83-104

Ōmura Masujirō Sensei Denki Kankō Kai, *Ōmura Masujirō Den* (Tokyo, 1944)  
pp.298-322

Miyoshi Nobuhiro, 'Kokusai Nihon o Kizuita Senkensha III Yamao Yōzō' in *Kokusaigaku Kenkyū*, No.3, December 1988, pp.36-8

A Glover & Co. representative may have helped Itō and Inoue secure their passage from Yokohama to Western Japan following their return in 1864.

See Sugiyama Shinya, *Meiji Ishin to Igrisu Shōnin* (Tokyo, 1993), p.125

20. *Nabeshima Naomasa Kōden*, p. 561

The introduction of passport travel

1. G. Fox, *Britain and Japan 1858-83* (Oxford, 1969) p.184

2. Beasley, *Japan Encounters the Barbarian*, p.135

3. Paske-Smith, *Western Barbarians in Japan*, pp.264-65

The identity of the three Japanese in question is unclear. They were not the only Japanese to leave without the appropriate documents in the early days of passport travel. Technically, such travellers can be called *mikkōsha*, although they did not face the severe penalties risked by those who escaped before the revocation of the ban on overseas travel.

4. *Senjū-ke Monjo*, private collection, Saga

*Fukagawa Chōemon Monjo*, private collection, Saga

5. Hiraoka Masaaki, 'Yashi, Tabi Geijin, Umi o Wataru' in *Asahi Hyakka Nihon no Rekishi* 96 (1988), p.251

6. Kawaji, *Taiei Nisshi*, p.195

7. Kuramochi Kazue, *Bakumatsu - Shashin no Jidai* (Tokyo 1995)

These photographs have been found by Kuramochi Kazue in the National Museum of Anthropology in Paris. On the back of the photographs are the Japanese characters 「元治元年1864第二回遣欧使節団」

8. J.D. Frodsham, *The First Chinese Embassy to the West* (Oxford, 1974) p.xlix

Overseas travel in the early Meiji years

1. A parallel for such an exodus may be found in 1911 when most Chinese students then in Japan hurried back on hearing news of revolution at home.

P. Harrell, *Sowing the Seeds of Change*

- *Chinese Students, Japanese Teachers, 1895-1905* (Stanford, 1992), p.218

2. Inuzuka Takaaki, *Meiji Ishin Taigai Kankei Shi Kenkyū* (Tokyo, 1987);

*Meiji Ishin Kaigai Ryūgakusei Jinmei Ichiran*, pp.317-21

3. Tsunoda et al., *Sources of Japanese Tradition*, (New York 1959) vol.2, p.137

4. Watanabe, p.210

5. *Senjū-ke Monjo*
6. Frodsham, p.xxv
7. For details of the Iwakura embassy's tours of observation in Britain, see D. Anthony and G. Healey, 'The Itinerary of the Iwakura embassy in Britain' in *Occasional Papers No.1*, Centre for Japanese Studies, (Sheffield, 1987)
8. September 1871 Report cited in Inuzuka, *Taigai Kankei Shi*, p.267
9. Watanabe, pp.305-8
10. O. Checkland, *Britain's Encounter with Meiji Japan, 1868-1912* (London, 1989) p.135
11. Ishizuki Minoru, *Kindai Nihon no Kaigai Ryūgaku Shi*, (Kyōto, 1972), p.189

The numbers of Japanese overseas travellers in the 1860s and 1870s

1. Examples of recently transliterated diaries include the journals written by Sano Tsunetami in 1867-8, reproduced in Cobbing, *Saga Han no Taigai Kankei*
2. Murata Kametarō's name does not appear on any of the lists of overseas students compiled to date. His studies in Holland were recorded in 1868 in the following Japanese diaries:

'Sano Tsunetami Meiji Gannen Taiō Nikki', Ibid., pp.115, 164-65

'Akamatsu Taisaburō Oranda Taizai Kaichū Nikki' printed in Nichiran Gakkai *Bakumatsu Oranda Ryūgaku Kankei Shiryō Shūsei*, (Tokyo, 1982) p.149

Beasley has suggested that, while Ishizuki named as many as 153 students between 1862 and 1868, 'the nature of the records, which makes it difficult to be sure in some cases about identities and dates, led Inuzuka Takaaki (1987) to eliminate some of those in Ishizuki's list, reducing his own to 128'. (Beasley, *Japan Encounters the Barbarian*, p.119). It would be more accurate to describe Inuzuka's corrections, and recent advances in this field in Japan as a whole, as a process of successively dispensing with unreliable secondary records as primary documents come to light, enabling scholars to confirm both identities and dates. It should also be noted that Inuzuka was using more confined criteria than Ishizuki in identifying overseas students. He excluded figures such as Godai Tomoatsu, Niino Hisanobu and Terashima Munenori because, although they travelled with Satsuma students to Britain in 1865, their activities were primarily commercial and diplomatic. Similar omissions include Koide Sennosuke, a member of the *bakufu* mission to America in 1860 and the Hizen delegation's interpreter at the 1867 Paris Exposition. Other students of whom Ishizuki was unaware do feature in Inuzuka's list. Examples include Nomura Fumio and Mōri Tōjirō, both of whom studied in Scotland in the 1860s.

3. Lahiri, S., *Metropolitan Encounters: a study of Indian students in Britain* (unpublished PhD dissertation. London SOAS, 1995), p.181
4. Ibid., pp.12,15

5. Harrell, pp.11, 81

## CHAPTER TWO

### Research on Britain during the *sakoku* period

1. Kure Shūzō, *Meiji Ishin Shi Kenkyū*, cited in Ayusawa Shintarō, *Sakoku Jidai no Sekai Chirigaku* (Tokyo, 1980), p.6
2. One translation of *Sairan Igen* is 'Collection of Strange Things' in G. K. Goodman, *Japan: The Dutch Experience* (London, 1986), p.45  
A plausible alternative might be 'Wondrous and Diverse Sights and Sounds.'  
Here, as in some later cases, a translation has not been presented as it cannot succinctly convey the full import of the original Chinese title.
3. Sidotti was captured after landing in Yakushima in 1708, and was taken via Nagasaki to Edo. Arai interviewed him there on four occasions and argued for his release. The *bakufu* authorities, however, kept him in a hole in the ground where he died in 1714.
4. Numata Jirō, *Yōgaku* (Tokyo, 1989), p.48
5. Ibid.
6. Miura Baien, *Gogatsu Ushō*, cited in Ayusawa, p.78
7. D. Keene, *The Japanese Discovery of Europe*, (London, 1952), p.34
8. Numata, *Yōgaku*, p.143
9. For example, Honda is thought to have used the *fūsetsusho* of 1799 in his description in *Bōeki Ron* of the Anglo-Dutch War.  
See Inuzuka, *Taigai Kankei Shi*, p.20
10. Ibid., p.16
11. Keene, *The Japanese Discovery of Europe*, p.41
12. Ayusawa, p.126
13. Examples include *Hōseki Shirin* and *Bankoku Shinwa* in *Meiji Bunka Zenshū - Gaikoku Bunka Hen*, vol.7, (Tokyo, 1928)
14. Numata, *Yōgaku*, p.152
15. Keene, *The Japanese Discovery of Europe*, p.123
16. Frodsham, p.xlii
17. Keene, *The Japanese Discovery of Europe*, p.59
18. Inuzuka, *Taigai Kankei Shi*, p.17
19. Honda Toshiaki, 'Keisei Hisaku' in *Honda Toshiaki, Kaibose Iryō - Nihon Shisō Taikei*, vol.44 (Tokyo, 1970), p.20  
'Saiiki Monogatari' in Ibid., p.119
20. Honda Toshiaki, 'Bōeki Ron', in *Nihon Shisō Taikei*, vol.44, pp.176-7
21. Interview with Matsumoto Takashi, guide at Mitsubishi Nagasaki Shipyard Archive Museum. Nagasaki, 7 October 1994
22. Honda, 'Saiiki Monogatari', p.141
23. Ibid., p.138

24. Satō Nobuhiro, *Andō Shōeki - Nihon Shisō Taikei*, vol.45, p.526
25. Satō Nobuhiro, 'Kaibō Ron', cited in Inuzuka, *Taigai Kankei Shi*, p.29
26. Ibid.
27. Satō Shōsuke, *Yōgaku Shi Ronkō*, (Kyōto, 1993) pp.78-9
28. Ōtsuki Gentaku, *Hoei Mondō* cited in Inuzuka, *Taigai Kankei Shi*, p.25
29. Ibid.
30. Sugitani Akira, *Nabeshima Kansō* (Tokyo, 1992) pp.2, 14
31. Inuzuka, *Taigai Kankei Shi*, p.9
32. Satō, *Yōgaku Shi Ronkō*, pp.94, 96
33. Numata, *Yōgaku*, p.215
34. Ibid, p.216
35. Inuzuka, *Taigai Kankei Shi*, p.31
36. Ibid., p.40
37. Yoshida Shōin - *Nihon Shisō Taikei*, vol.54, p.415
38. Inuzuka, *Taigai Kankei Shi*, p.43
39. Ibid.
40. Watanabe Kazan, *Takano Chōei, Sakuma Shōzan, Yokoi Shōnan, Hashimoto Sanai - Nihon Shisō Taikei*, vol.55, p.166
41. Watanabe, 'Shokō Seiyō Jijō Sho', Ibid., p.62
42. Satō, *Yōgaku Shi Ronkō*, p.282
43. Watanabe, 'Gaikoku Jijō Sho', *Watanabe Kazan, Takano Chōei*, p.20  
Watanabe's theory could also be interpreted as an invitation to expound on eastern moral supremacy, a point perhaps not lost on Sakuma Shōzan when he later fashioned the slogan '*seiyō gijutsu tōyō dōtoku*'. Satō Shōsuke has shown the similarities to be found in Fukuzawa Yukichi's later theory of progress with unchanging morality overlaid by advancing knowledge.
44. Watanabe, 'Seiyō Jijō Go-kotae Sho', vol.1, p.36 cited in Ayusawa, p.269
45. Ibid., p.270
46. Ibid.
47. Watanabe, 'Shinki Ron', *Watanabe Kazan, Takano Chōei*, p.70
48. Watanabe, 'Gaikoku Jijō Sho', Ibid., p.34
49. Inuzuka, *Taigai Kankei Shi*, p.51
50. M. Mayo, 'The Western Education of Kume Kunitake, 1871-76' in *Monumenta Nipponica* XXVIII, I, 1973, p.9  
Mayo was citing the case of Hsu' Chi-yü's *Rinkan Shiryaku* (1861)
51. Yoshida Shōin *Zenshū*, vol.4 (Tokyo, 1938), pp.51-2
52. Ōhira Kimata, *Sakuma Shōzan*, (Tokyo, 1959), p.130
53. *Seiyō Kenbun Shū*, p.622
54. Ōhira, p.125
55. Yoshida Shōin *Zenshū*, vol.10, pp.435-6

56. *Seiyō Kenbun Shū*, p.624
  57. Sugimoto Isao ed., *Matsu no Ochiba – Bakumatsu Gunji Gijutsu no Kiseki* (Tokyo, 1987), p.236
  58. Kusuya, pp.78-9
  59. Cobbing, *Saga Han no Taigai Kankei*, p.16  
Part of Koide's diary has survived, and the diary of another participant from Hizen, Shimanouchi Einosuke, has since been published. Ibid., p.12
- Eikoku Tansaku and the 1862 bakufu mission to Europe
1. Ishii Takashi, *Zōtei Bakumatsu Ishin Ki no Kokusai Kankyō*, (Tokyo, 1966) p.69
  2. *Seiyō Kenbun Shū*, pp.595-6
  3. Beasley, *Japan Encounters the Barbarian*, p.64
  4. Ibid., pp.90, 101
  5. Fukuchi Gen'ichirō, *Kaiō Jidan* (Tokyo, 1894), p.92
  6. Fukuzawa Yukichi, *Fukuō Jiden*, (Tokyo 1970) p.123
  7. Iwase Higo no Kami of the Hayashi College seems to have been promoting an awareness of the importance of English as early as c.1854-55.  
J. Hunter, *A Study of the Career of Maejima Hisoka 1835-1919*  
(unpublished D.Phil. thesis, Oxford 1976) p.16
  8. Numata, *Yōgaku*, p.217,  
Cobbing, *Saga Han no Taigai Kankei*, p.36
  9. Fukuzawa, *Fukuō Jiden*, pp.97-8
  10. Numata, *Yōgaku*, p.219  
Iwamatsu Yōsuke, 'Eigakkō – Chienkan' in Sugimoto Isao ed., *Kindai Bunmei to no Deai*, (Tokyo 1989), p.107  
Sugitani, *Nabeshima Kansō*, p.97
  11. Cobbing, *Saga Han no Taigai Kankei*, p.36
  12. *Seiyō Kenbun Shū*, p.595
  13. Inuzuka, *Taigai Kankei Shi*, pp.595-6
  14. *Seiyō Kenbun Shū*, pp.596-98
  15. Beasley, *Japan Encounters the Barbarian*, pp.75-6
  16. *Fukuzawa Yukichi Zenshū*, vol.17, (Tokyo 1961) p.7  
Letter to Shimazu Suketarō, 11th day, 4th month, 1862
  17. Ibid.
  18. Nihon Shiseki Kyōkai, *Ihi Nyūkō Roku*, vol.1 (Tokyo, 1930), pp.219-20, 226
  19. Kusuya, p.25
  20. Fukuzawa, *Fukuō Jiden*, p.127
  21. *Fukuzawa Yukichi Zenshū*, vol.17, p.7
  22. *Seiyō Kenbun Shū*, p.642
  23. Ibid., p.585



24. Beasley, *Japan Encounters the Barbarian*, p. 94
25. *Seiyō Kenbun Shū*, pp. 642-3
26. Fukuchi, *Kaiō Jidai*, p. 90
27. Beasley, *Japan Encounters the Barbarian*, p. 93
28. *Seiyō Kenbun Shū*, pp. 588-9
29. *Ibid.*, p. 589
30. Nagao Masanori, 'Fukuzawa Yukichi no Seiji Shisō Keisei Katei ni tsuite no Ikkōsatsu, in Iwao Seiichi ed., *Kinsei no Yōgaku to Kaigai Kōshō* (Tokyo, 1979), p. 361
31. Kiyooka Eiichi trans., *The Autobiography of Fukuzawa Yukichi* (Tokyo, 1948), p. 142
32. 'Eikoku Tansaku', printed in *Seiyō Kenbun Shū*, p. 506
33. *Ibid.*, p. 504
34. *Ibid.*
35. Matsuzawa Hiroaki, 'Samazama na Seiyō Kenbun' in *Seiyō Kenbun Shū*, p. 650
36. Beasley, *Japan Encounters the Barbarian*, p. 94
37. 'Eikoku Tansaku', p. 484
38. *Ibid.*, p. 483
39. *Ibid.*, p. 526
40. *Ibid.*, p. 529
41. *Ibid.*
42. *Ibid.*, p. 535
43. *Ibid.*, pp. 483, 497
44. *Ibid.*, p. 497
45. *Ibid.*, p. 532
46. *Ibid.*, p. 498
47. *Ibid.*
48. *Ibid.*
49. *Ibid.*, p. 496
50. *Ibid.*, p. 497
51. *Ibid.*, p. 484
52. *Ibid.*, p. 544
53. Matsuzawa, *Sama-zama na Seiyō Kenbun*, p. 648
54. 'Eikoku Tansaku', p. 538

*Seiyō Jijō and the 1862 bakufu mission to Europe*

1. C. Blacker, *The Japanese Enlightenment; a study of the writings of Fukuzawa Yukichi* (Cambridge, 1964), p. 7
2. Okada Setsuzō, 'Kōsei Shōki', printed in *Kengai Shisetsu Nikki Sanshū*, vol. 3 (Tokyo 1928-30) p. 481

3. Fukuzawa Yukichi, *Seiyō Jijō*, reproduced in *Fukuzawa Yukichi Zenshū*, vol.1 (Tokyo, 1926), p.299
4. Inuzuka, *Taigai Kankei Shi*, p.68
5. Kiyooka, p.358
6. *Ihi Nyūkō Roku*, p.250
7. *Seiyō Jijō*, p.290
8. Ibid., pp.372-3
9. Ibid., p.373
10. Ibid., p.376
11. Ibid., p.380
12. Ibid.
13. Ibid.
14. Ibid., pp.410-1
15. Ibid., p.429
16. Ibid., p.485
17. Matsuzawa Hiroaki, 'Eikoku Tansaku Shimatsu' in *Seiyō Kenbun Shū*, p.594
18. Ibid.

*Seiyō Bunken Roku* and student life in Britain

1. Inuzuka Takaaki, *Satsuma Han Eikoku Ryūgakusei*, p.131
2. Kinmonth, E.H., *The Self-Made Man in Meiji Japanese Thought* (California, 1981), p.22
3. Osatake Takeshi, 'Seiyō Bunken Roku Kaidai', *Meiji Bunka Zenshū, Kaigai Bunka Hen*, vol.7, p.13
4. Kitane Yutaka, 'Nomura Fumio Kankei Shiryō' in Tokyo Daigaku Meiji Shinbun Zasshi Bunko, reproduction of *Maru-maru Chinbun*, June 1982  
The only work relating to Nomura is:  
Yokoyama Toshio, 'Mitford and Murata - two critical minds on popular images between Britain and Japan in the early Meiji period' in *Proceedings of the British Association for Japanese Studies* 1980, vol.5, part.1, History and International Relations  
In addition, Nomura's diary, 'Jōsa Nichiroku', has been analysed in Cobbing, *Saga Han no Taigai Kankei*, pp.73-91
5. Biographical details of Nomura Fumio drawn from  
'Gōshū Nichiroku', 'Jōsa Nichiroku', 'Hōseki Hiroku' in  
'Nomura Fumio Kankei Shiryō'  
and 'Nomura Fumio Shi Ryakuden', *Maru-maru Chinbun*, 9th February 1895
6. Cobbing, *Saga Han no Taigai Kankei*, pp.58-9
7. *The Aberdeen Herald*, 5 October 1867
8. 'Hōseki Hiroku', p.50
9. 'Nomura Fumio Shi Ryakuden'

10. Murata Fumio (Nomura Fumio), *Seiyō Bunken Roku*, reproduced in *Meiji Bunka Zenshū, Gaikoku Bunka Hen*, vol.7, p.208
11. Ibid., p.192-3
12. Ibid., p.197
13. For example, *Arita Chō Shi, Seiji/Shakai Hen*, (Tokyo, 1986), p.56
14. *Seiyō Bunken Roku*, p.204  
Cobbing, *Saga Han no Taigai Kankei*, p.90
15. Nomura, 'Jōsa Nichiroku', p.44
16. *Seiyō Bunken Roku*, pp.198-9
17. Ibid., pp.199-200, 261
18. Ibid., pp.208-17  
There was no reference to an escapade described in Nomura's diary in which, still in *samurai* attire, he was removed from the Tower by a beefeater.  
Nomura, 'Jōsa Nichiroku', p.39
19. *Ihi Nyūkō Roku*, vol.1, p.238  
*Seiyō Bunken Roku*, pp.197-8, 208-19
20. These comparisons appeared in the journals of Liu Hsi-hung and Chang Te-yi.  
See Frodsham, pp.148, 171
21. Ibid., p.193
22. Ibid., p.266
23. Nomura, 'Jōsa Nichiroku', p.44
24. *Seiyō Bunken Roku*, pp.202-4, 266-7
25. Ibid., p.204
26. Ibid., p.205
27. Ibid.
28. Ibid., pp.199, 204
29. Ibid., pp.201, 204, 261
30. Ibid., pp.220-2
31. Ibid., p.229
32. Ibid., pp.222, 250
33. Ibid., p.200, 240-1
34. Cobbing, *Saga Han no Taigai Kankei*, p.86
35. *Seiyō Bunken Roku*, p.223
36. Ibid., pp.224-25
37. Yokoyama, 'Mitford and Murata', p.160
38. *Seiyō Bunken Roku*, p.207
39. Ibid., p.223
40. Ibid., pp.214-7
41. Ibid., pp.229-33
42. Ibid., pp.241-8

43. *Seiyō Bunken Roku*, pp.217, 240, 249-50

Bei-Ō Kairan Jikki and the Iwakura embassy

1. The most notable work on Kume's research in English is Marlene J. Mayo's 'The Western Education of Kume Kunitake 1871-76'

Other related studies include:

Haga Tōru, 'Western Cities as Observed by the Iwakura Mission' in

*The Japan Foundation Newsletter*, Vol.XVIII/No.1,

Haga Tōru, *Iwakura Shisetsu no Seiyō Kenbun - Bei-Ō Kairan Jikki o Yomu*

(Tokyo 1990)

2. Mayo, p.18
3. Ibid., p.14
4. Ibid., pp.128-30
5. *Nabeshima Naomasa Kōden*, vol.6 (Tokyo, 1920) pp.382-3
6. Ibid., p.494
7. Ibid., p.560
8. Ibid., p.569
9. Ibid., p.615
10. Mayo, p.11
11. 'Kume Kunitake Zaiei Nikki', Kume Bijutsukan, Meguro, Tokyo
12. Haga, 'Western Cities as Observed by the Iwakura Mission' p.9
13. Mayo, p.14
14. Ibid., p.16
15. Kume Kunitake, *Tokumei Zenken Taishi Bei-Ō Kairan Jikki*, vol.2 (Tokyo, 1878), pp.3-7
16. Ibid., pp.434-8
17. Ibid., pp.11-4
18. Ibid., pp.14-22
19. Ibid., vol.5, p.350
20. Mayo, p.51
21. *Kairan Jikki*, vol.2, pp.23-7
22. Mayo, p.61
23. Ibid.
24. *Kairan Jikki*, vol.2, p.182
25. Ibid., pp.27-9
26. Ibid., pp.29-1
27. Ibid., pp.73-5
28. Frodsham, p.35
29. *Kairan Jikki*, p.83
30. Ibid., p.76
31. Ibid., p.8

32. Mayo, p.33
33. Ibid., p.37
34. *Kairan Jikki*, p.79
35. Ibid., pp.77-8
36. Ibid., p.81
37. Ibid., p.89

#### Conclusion

1. Frodsham, p.lxiii

#### CHAPTER THREE

##### Overseas travellers and the Japanese diary tradition

1. D. Keene, *Travelers of a Hundred Ages* (New York, 1989), p.1
2. Ibid., p.7
3. Kawakuchi Hisao ed., *Bakumatsu Meiji Kaigai Taiken Shishū* (Tokyo, 1984)
4. E. Miner, *Japanese Poetic Diaries* (California, 1969), p.87
5. Ibid., p.9
6. Ibid., p.13
7. Keene, *Travelers*, p.396
8. Ibid., p.34
9. Ibid., p.389
10. Mashizu Shunjirō, 'Ōkō Ki', printed in *Kengai Shisetsu Nikki Sanshū*, vol.2 (Tokyo, 1928-30), p.207
11. Hanabusa Yoshimoto, 'Ikyō Gaiyū Ki', printed in Kuroda Gimon, ed., *Shishaku Hanabusa Yoshimoto Kun Jiryaku* (Tokyo, 1913), p.21
12. Keene, *Travelers*, p.9
13. Ibid.
14. Frodsham, p.xl

##### The voyage to Europe and the British empire

1. Kawaji Tarō, 'Eikō Nichiroku' patially printed in Kawaji Ryūkō, *Kokusen Ki*, (Tokyo, 1953), p.171
2. Eight participants are known to have kept diaries. These were Fukuzawa Yukichi, Ichikawa Wataru, Nozawa Yūta, Fuchinabe Tokuzō, Mashizu Shunjirō, Fukuchi Gen'ichirō, Oka Shikanosuke and Takashima Sukehiro. Six diaries survive. Fukuchi claimed he lost his diary and Oka's is thought to have been destroyed in the Great Kantō earthquake.

##### i) departure and the constraints of sea travel

1. Inuzuka, *Satsuma Han Eikoku Ryūgakusei*, p.25
2. Ozaki Saburō, *Ozaki Saburō Nikki*, vol.1 (Tokyo, 1991), p.4
3. Nomura, 'Jōsa Nichiroku', pp.17-8
4. Miyana Takashi, *Bunkyū Ninen Yōroppa no Hōkoku* (Tokyo, 1991), p.32
5. Inuzuka, *Eikoku Ryūgakusei*, p.33

6. Nonaka Motoemon, 'Fukkoku Kōro Ki', printed in Tsuruta Nobuyoshi ed., *Keiō Sannen Pāri Bankokuhaku no Tsuisō* (Saga, 1936), p.1
7. Matsumura Junzō, *Yōkō Nikki*, printed in *Sappan Kaigun Shi*, vol.2 (Tokyo, 1928), p.919
8. *Ihi Nyūkō Roku*, vol.1, pp.222-3
9. Fuchinabe Tokuzō, 'Ōkō Nikki', printed in *Kengai Shisetsu Nikki Sanshū*, vol.3, p.8
10. Frodsham, p.xxxix
11. Kusuya, *Bakumatsu Ōshū Kenbun Roku*, p.58
12. Takashima Sukehiro, *Ōsei Kikō* (Tokyo, 1867), Kokkai Toshokan, Tokyo
13. Hatakeyama Yoshinari, 'Yōkō Nikki', printed in *Kagoshima-ken Tanki Daigaku Chiiki Kenkyū Sho Nenpō*, 1977, p.74
- ii) the China experience: Shanghai and Hong Kong
  1. Cobbing, *Saga Han no Taigai Kankei*, p.50
  2. Nire Kagenori, 'Kōbei Nikki', printed in *Kagoshima-ken Tanki Daigaku Chiiki Kenkyū Sho Nenpō*, 1984, p.64
  3. Kawaji, 'Eikō Nichiroku', p.163
  4. *Ihi Nyūkō Roku*, vol.1, p.303
  5. Kawaji, 'Eikō Nichiroku', p.182
  6. Okada, 'Kōsei Shōki', p.484
  7. Cobbing, *Saga Han no Taigai Kankei*, p.53
  8. Nōtomi, 'Shanghai Zakki', p.6
  9. Cobbing, *Saga Han no Taigai Kankei*, p.53
  10. Ibid.
  11. Lahiri, p.213
  12. Kawaji, 'Eikō Nichiroku', p.168
  13. Nire, 'Kōbei Nikki', p.66
  14. Nakai Hiroshi, *Kōkai Shinsetsu*, in *Meiji Bunka Zenshū*, vol.7, p.281
  15. Matsumura, 'Yōkō Nikki', p.921
  16. Machida Hisanari, 'Yōkō Nikki', *Sekishitsu Hikkō*, Kagoshima Kenritsu Toshokan
  17. Kusuya, *Bakumatsu Ōshū Kenbun Roku*, p.38
  18. Kikuchi Dairoku, 'Eikō Nikki', (untransliterated), Kokkai Toshokan
  19. Kawaji, 'Eikō Nichiroku', p.170
  20. Nonaka, 'Fukkoku Kōro Ki', p.3
  21. Mashizu, 'Ōkō Ki', p.134
  22. Kawaji, 'Eikō Nichiroku', p.170
  23. Fukuzawa Yukichi, 'Seikō Ki', printed in *Zoku Fukuzawa Yukichi Zenshū*, vol.7, (Tokyo, 1934), p.7
  24. Matsumura, 'Yōkō Nikki', p.920

25. Kusuya, *Bakumatsu Ōshū Kenbun Roku*, p. 41
26. Ibid., p. 40
27. Ibid., p. 42
28. Sano Tsunetami, 'Tofutsu Nikki', in  
Cobbing, *Saga Han no Taigai Kankei*, pp. 142-3
29. Kikuchi, 'Eikō Nikki'
30. Kusuya, *Bakumatsu Ōshū Kenbun Roku*, p. 40
31. Kawaji, 'Taiei Nisshi', partially printed in Kawaji, *Kokusen Ki*, p. 193
32. Sano, 'Tofutsu Nikki', p. 143
33. Cobbing, *Saga Han no Taigai Kankei*, p. 104
34. Sano, 'Tofutsu Nikki', p. 144

iii) Singapore, the Indian Ocean and the Middle East

1. Kusuya, *Bakumatsu Ōshū Kenbun Roku*, p. 44
2. Kawaji, 'Eikō Nichiroku', p. 174
3. Kikuchi, 'Eikō Nikki'
4. Matsumura, 'Yōkō Nikki', p. 923,  
Nakai, *Kōkai Shinsetsu*, p. 283
5. Nonaka, 'Fukoku Kōro Ki', p. 11
6. Kusuya, *Bakumatsu Ōshū Kenbun Roku*, p. 48
7. Sano, 'Tofutsu Nikki', p. 172
8. Matsumura, 'Yōkō Nikki', p. 925
9. Okada, 'Kōsei Shōki', p. 485
10. Kusuya, *Bakumatsu Ōshū Kenbun Roku*, p. 48
11. Fuchinabe, 'Ōkō Nikki', p. 25
12. Matsumura, 'Yōkō Nikki', p. 925
13. *Ihi Nyūkō Roku*, vol. 1, pp. 193, 203

These misapprehensions may have come from European sources. In his diary entry on 22 December 1876, Kuo Sung-t'ao wrote that, 'in the West, people believe that Sakyamuni was born in Ceylon. I suspect this should refer to the disciples Manjusri and Samantabhadra, both of whom were said to have been reborn into another world.' See Frodsham, p. 28

14. Ozaki, *Ozaki Saburō Nikki*, p. 9
15. Kusuya, *Bakumatsu Ōshū Kenbun Roku*, p. 48  
*Ihi Nyūkō Roku*, vol. 1, p. 193
16. Hatakeyama, 'Yōkō Nikki', p. 69
17. Matsumura, 'Yōkō Nikki', p. 926
18. Fuchinabe, 'Ōkō Nikki', p. 16
19. Takashima, *Ōsei Kikō*
20. Ibid.
21. Shibata Takenaka, 'Futsuei Kō', printed in *Seiyō Kenbun Shū*, p. 277

22. Kawaji, 'Eikō Nichiroku', p.174
23. Hatakeyama, 'Yōkō Nikki', p.70
24. Nomura, 'Jōsa Nichiroku', p.19
25. Ibid., p.32-33
26. Kusuya, *Bakumatsu Ōshū Kenbun Roku*, p.49
27. Hatakeyama, 'Yōkō Nikki', p.70
28. Nomura, 'Jōsa Nichiroku', p.32
29. Nire, 'Kōbei Nikki', p.74
30. Nakai, *Kōkai Shinsetsu*, p.286
31. Kusuya, *Bakumatsu Ōshū Kenbun Roku*, p.49
32. Hatakeyama, 'Yōkō Nikki', p.71
33. Nonaka, 'Fukkoku Kōro Ki', p.20
34. Kawaji, 'Eikō Nichiroku', p.181
35. See Suzuki, *Ishin Zenya*, pp.7-18
36. Okada, 'Kōsei Shōki', p.486
37. Hatakeyama, 'Yōkō Nikki', p.73
38. Ozaki, *Ozaki Saburō Nikki*, p.11
39. Kikuchi, 'Eikō Nikki'
40. *Ihi Nyūkō Roku*, vol.1, p.219
41. Kusuya, *Bakumatsu Ōshū Kenbun Roku*, p.54
42. Ibid., p.56

iv) Europe

1. Ibid., p.59
2. Takashima, *Ōsei Kikō*
3. Kawaji, 'Eikō Nichiroku', p.188
4. Matsumura, 'Yōkō Nikki', p.931
5. Godai Tomoatsu to Katsura Uemon cited in Inuzuka, *Eikoku Ryūgakusei*, p.53-4
6. Godai Tomoatsu to Nomura Sōshichi, Ibid.
7. Kawaji, 'Eikō Nichiroku', p.188
8. Fukuzawa, 'Seikō Ki', p.40
9. Nomura, 'Jōsa Nichiroku', p.37
10. Nire, 'Kōbei Nikki', p.78
11. Nomura, 'Jōsa Nichiroku', p.38
12. Kawaji, 'Eikō Nichiroku', p.190
13. Nakai, *Kōkai Shinsetsu*, p.291
14. Ibid.

Overseas travellers' encounter with European technology

1. Matsumura, 'Yōkō Nikki', p.921
2. Kawaji, 'Eikō Nichiroku', p.171
3. Ibid., p.191



4. Okada, 'Kōsei Shōki', p.507
5. Kusuya, *Bakumatsu Ōshū Kenbun Roku*, p.53
6. Mashizu, 'Ōkō Ki', p.158
7. Fuchinabe, 'Ōkō Nikki', p.31
8. Ibid.
9. Takashima, *Ōsei Kikō*
10. Matsumura, 'Yōkō Nikki', p.929
11. Kawaji, 'Eikō Nichiroku', p.183
12. Kikuchi, 'Eikō Nikki'
13. Mashizu, 'Ōkō Ki', p.200
14. Fuchinabe, 'Ōkō Nikki', p.48
15. Okada, 'Kōsei Shōki', p.508
16. Nire, 'Kōbei Nikki', p.78
17. Sano, 'Tofutsu Nikki' p.142
18. Kawaji, 'Eikō Nichiroku', p.145
19. Kusuya, *Bakumatsu Ōshū Kenbun Roku*, p.56
20. Nakai, *Kōkai Shinsetsu*, p.287
21. Fuchinabe, 'Ōkō Nikki', p.48
22. Matsumura, 'Yōkō Nikki', p.930
23. Ibid., p.932
24. Nomura, 'Jōsa Nichiroku', p.38
25. Kusuya, *Bakumatsu Ōshū Kenbun Roku*, p.48
26. Ibid., p.86
27. Nozawa Yūta, 'Ken'ō Shisetsu Kōkai Nichiroku', printed in  
*Kengai Shisetsu Nikki Sanshū*, vol.2, p.166
28. Nire, 'Kōbei Nikki', p.79
29. Fukuzawa, 'Seikō Ki', p.17
30. Okada, 'Kōsei Shōki', pp.515-6
31. M. Laderrière, ed., *Danes in Japan 1868-1940*, (Copenhagen, 1984), p.109  
The cable laid between Nagasaki and Shanghai was made in Britain to a  
special order placed by the Great Northern Telegraph Company

Overseas travellers' discovery of Victorian custom and society

1. Kawaji, 'Eikō Nichiroku', p.168
2. Ibid., p.181
3. Nakai, *Kōkai Shinsetsu*, p.286
4. Kawaji, 'Eikō Nichiroku', p.181
5. Fuchinabe, 'Ōkō Nikki', p.12
6. Ibid., p.21
7. Matsumura, 'Yōkō Nikki', p.923
8. Fuchinabe, 'Ōkō Nikki', p.12

9. Nakai, *Kōkai Shinsetsu*, p.283-84
10. Kusuya, *Bakumatsu Ōshū Kenbun Roku*, p.40
11. Ibid., p.172
12. Shibata, 'Futsuei Kō', p.414
13. Fuchinabe, 'Ōkō Nikki', p.9
14. Ibid., p.24
15. Matsumura, 'Yōkō Nikki', p.922
16. Nonaka, 'Fukkoku Kōro Ki', p.5
17. Kikuchi, 'Eikō Nikki'
18. Kawaji, 'Taiei Nisshi', p.194. The 'Royal Theatre' was perhaps the Theatre Royal. Miyanaga suggests it was the Royalty Theatre or Royal Soho Theatre. Miyanaga Takashi, 'Bakufu Igirisu Ryūgakusei, Part 2' in *Shakai Rōdō Kenkyū* vol.36, no.4, 1990, p.53
19. Kawaji, 'Eikō Nichiroku', p.180
20. Nire, 'Kōbei Nikki', p.64
21. Kawaji, 'Eikō Nichiroku', p.163
22. Fuchinabe, 'Ōkō Nikki', p.14
23. Yamanouchi Sakuzaemon, 'Rokō Ki', in *Tokyo Asahi Shinbun*, 26 April 1939
24. Nomura, 'Jōsa Nichiroku', p.42
25. Kawaji, 'Eikō Nichiroku', p.177
26. Matsumura, 'Yōkō Nikki', p.932
27. Shibata, 'Futsuei Kō', p.409
28. Kawaji, 'Taiei Nisshi', p.195
29. Inuzuka, *Taigai Kankei Shi*, p.72
30. Kawaji, 'Eikō Nichiroku', p.183
31. Lloyd to P & O, 6 April 1867.  
Miyanaga Takashi, 'Bakufu Igirisu Ryūgakusei, Part 1' in *Shakai Rōdō Kenkyū* vol.36, no.3, 1989, p.192-3
32. Kawaji, 'Eikō Nichiroku', p.187
33. Kusuya, *Bakumatsu Ōshū Kenbun Roku*, p.38
34. Matsumura, 'Yōkō Nikki', p.932
35. Kawaji, 'Eikō Nichiroku', p.191
36. Ibid.
37. Ibid., p.166
38. Nomura, 'Jōsa Nichiroku', p.20-21
39. Ibid., p.40
40. Nire, 'Kōbei Nikki', p.78
41. Nomura, 'Jōsa Nichiroku', p.46. These facilities at Lochhead were in fact the first hydropathic baths in Scotland
42. Sugitani, *Nabeshima Kansō*, p.47

43. Nomura, 'Jōsa Nichiroku', p. 19
44. Ibid., p. 30
45. Matsumura, 'Yōkō Nikki', p. 920
46. Yamanouchi, 'Rokō Ki'
47. Nakai, *Kōkai Shinsetsu*, p. 281
48. Kawaji, 'Eikō Nichiroku', p. 163
49. Nakai, *Kōkai Shinsetsu*, p. 285
50. Fukuzawa, *Fukuō Jiden*, pp. 124-5
51. *Ihi Nyūkō Roku*, vol. 1, p. 223
52. R. Alcock, *Capital of the Tycoon*, vol. 2 (London, 1863), p. 379  
Fukuchi Gen'ichirō, *Kaiō Jidan*, pp. 74-5
53. Alcock, *Capital of the Tycoon*, vol. 2, p. 379
54. Kawaji, 'Eikō Nichiroku', p. 163
55. Nakai, *Kōkai Shinsetsu*, p. 283
56. *Ihi Nyūkō Roku*, vol. 1, pp. 223-4
57. Kawaji, 'Eikō Nichiroku', p. 180
58. Takashima, *Ōsei Kikō*
59. Matsumura, 'Yōkō Nikki', p. 922
60. Hatakeyama, 'Yōkō Nikki', p. 73
61. Fuchinabe, 'Ōkō Nikki', p. 51
62. F.O. 65/606 Lumley to Russell, no. 79, 24 August 1862  
cited in Beasley, *Japan Encounters the Barbarian*, p. 87
63. Miyanaga, *Yōroppa no Hōkoku*, p. 23
64. Prodsham, p. xlvii
65. Nomura, 'Jōsa Nichiroku', p. 30
66. Kawaji, 'Taiei Nisshi', p. 194
67. Miyanaga Takashi, *Bakumatsu Oranda Ryūgakusei no Kenkyū*, (Tokyo, 1982),  
p. 189
68. *Itō Hirobumi Den*, vol. 1, p. 105
69. Matsumura, 'Yōkō Nikki', p. 921
70. Hatakeyama, 'Yōkō Nikki', pp. 63-4
71. Ibid., p. 79
72. Nomura, 'Jōsa Nichiroku', p. 40
73. Matsumura, 'Yōkō Nikki', p. 919
74. Kawaji, 'Eikō Nichiroku', p. 172
75. Nakai, *Kōkai Shinsetsu*, p. 285
76. Nomura, 'Jōsa Nichiroku', p. 39
77. Takashima, *Ōsei Kikō*
78. Nomura, 'Jōsa Nichiroku', p. 22

79. Suzuki, *Ishin Zenya*, pp.177-8.  
The authenticity of this tale remains to be verified.
80. Ibid., p.178
81. Hatakeyama, 'Yōkō Nikki', p.63
82. Matsumura, 'Yōkō Nikki', p.920
83. Nomura, 'Jōsa Nichiroku', p.40
84. Miyanaga, 'Bakufu Igirisu Ryūgakusei Part 1', p.154
85. Kusuya, *Bakumatsu Ōshū Kenbun Roku*, p.75
86. Sawa Sadatoki, *Kyū Bakufu*, (Tokyo, 1899)
87. Kusuya, *Bakumatsu Ōshū Kenbun Roku*, p.77
88. Miyanaga, *Yōroppa no Hōkoku*, p.76
89. Nomura, 'Jōsa Nichiroku', p.39

#### CHAPTER FOUR

##### Arrival in England and impressions of London

1. Nire, 'Kōbei Nikki', p.77
2. Mashizu, 'Ōkō Ki', p.200
3. Hatakeyama, 'Yōkō Nikki', p.32
4. Okada, 'Kōsei Shōki', p.515
5. Mashizu, 'Ōkō Ki', p.201
6. Nozawa, 'Ken'ō Shisetsu Kōkai Nichiroku', p.167  
Nomura, 'Jōsa Nichiroku', p.37
7. Kawaji, 'Eikō Nichiroku', p.191
8. Kawaji, 'Taiei Nisshi', p.194
9. Nakai, *Kōkai Shinsetsu*, p.295
10. Okada, 'Kōsei Shōki', p.517
11. Shibata, 'Futsuei Kō', p.400  
'club office' and 'club' are phonetic renderings of クラブ・オフィス、クラブ
12. Fuchinabe, 'Ōkō Nikki', p.48
13. Nozawa, 'Ken'ō Shisetsu Kōkai Nichiroku', p.164
14. Mashizu, 'Ōkō Ki', p.201
15. *Ihi Nyūkō Roku*, vol.1, p.238
16. S. Devere Brown & A. Hirota, A. trans., *The Diary of Kido Takayoshi*, vol.2  
(Tokyo, 1985), p.261
17. Frodsham, p.lvi
18. Nakai, *Kōkai Shinsetsu*, p.295
19. Nakai Hiroshi, *Man'yū Kitei*, reproduced in *Meiji Bunka Zenshū*, vol.7,  
pp.340-42
20. Ibid., p.341-42
21. Nihon Keiei Shi Kenkyūsho,  
*Nakamigawa Hikojiro Denki Shiryō* (Tokyo, 1969), p.41

#### Tours of observation

1. Kusuya, *Bakumatsu Ōshū Kenbun Roku*, p. 84
2. Fuchinabe, 'Ōkō Nikki', p. 54
3. Fukuzawa, 'Seikō Ki', p. 16
4. Fuchinabe, 'Ōkō Nikki', p. 50
5. 'The Japanese at Epsom' in *Punch* reproduced in *The Times*, 12 June 1862
6. Kusuya, *Bakumatsu Ōshū Kenbun Roku*, p. 92
7. Sano Tsunetami, 'Meiji Gannen Zai ō Nikki', printed in Cobbing, *Saga Han no Taigai Kankei*, p. 169
8. Frodsham, p. lv
9. Beasley, *Japan Encounters the Barbarian*, pp. 80-1
10. Fuchinabe, 'Ōkō Nikki', p. 53
11. Von Siebold's correspondence with Hammond cited in Beasley, *Japan Encounters the Barbarian*, p. 117
12. Ibid., pp. 166-7
13. Hunter, p. 87
14. Nohara Kazuyoshi, 'Kyōryoku Shōten Sōritsu no Gi - Baba Takeyoshi Kenkyū Notes', in *Kyōryoku Shōten Kumiai Toshō Shiryō Centre Shiryō Shū* 9 (Tokyo, 1995), p. 62

#### Tours of observation in the eyes of the Victorian press

1. *The Times*, 7 December 1872
2. Ibid., 11 June 1862
3. Ibid., 6 May 1862
4. Ibid., 8 May 1862
5. Ibid., 13 September 1872
6. Ibid., 6 May 1862
7. Ibid., 8 May 1862
8. Ibid., 21 May 1862
9. See Cobbing, *Saga Han no Taigai Kankei*, pp. 47-8
10. *Bedfordshire Times & Bedfordshire Independent*, 1 August 1865. An almost identical article appeared in *The Times* the following day.
11. *Macclesfield Courier & Herald*, 16 September 1865
12. *Warminster Herald*, 3 February 1872
13. 'Ōshima Takatō Gyōjitsu' cited in Checkland, *Britain's Encounter with Meiji Japan*, p. 115
14. *The Times*, 11 June 1862
15. *The Times*, 20 August 1872
16. *London & China Telegraph*, 28 August 1865

17. These include:

D.W. Anthony & G. Healey, *The Itinerary of the Iwakura Embassy in Britain*, (Sheffield 1987)

W.G. Beasley, *Japan Encounters the Barbarian - Japanese Travellers in America and Europe* (Yale 1995)

M. Mayo, 'The Western Education of Kume Kunitake 1871-1876'  
*Monumenta Nipponica XXVIII, 1* (Tokyo 1973)

18. *Hatakeyama Yoshinari Yōkō Nikki* records their departure.

A letter from Mori Arinori records their return to London.

See Inuzuka, *Eikoku Ryūgakusei*, pp.92, 97

19. *London & China Telegraph*, 28 August 1865

20. Shibata, 'Futsuei Kō', pp.394-5

21. *London & China Telegraph*, 28 August 1865

22. *Aberdeen Journal*, 30 August 1865

In *Scottish Samurai - Thomas Blake Glover 1838-1911*, (Edinburgh, 1993),

A. McKay speculates that these four officers were part of Shibata

Takenaka's *bakufu* party. Diaries by members of the Shibata party, however, reveal no visits to Aberdeen, and in late August 1865, they had only just arrived in Marseilles en route to France from Suez. The only other *bakufu* officials in Europe in 1865 were the students in Holland. Their movements are well documented and, although some of them did, on occasion, visit Britain, they had no conceivable motive for going to Aberdeen, and no such journeys are recorded in the summer of 1865.

See Nichiran Gakkai, *Bakumatsu Oranda Ryūgaku Kankei Shiryō Shūsei* (Tokyo 1982)

23. All the members of the Satsuma party in Britain used alias names.

Godai, Niuro and Hori went under the names of Seki Kenzō, Ishigaki

Einosuke, and Takaki Seiji respectively.

Japanese students in London and their Victorian mentors

1. Memorandum by Reginald Russell, 1 July 1864, FO 46/49

2. Faculty of Art Register, Faculty of Medicine Register, University College

3. Checkland, *Britain's Encounter with Meiji Japan*, p.139

4. Faculty of Art Register, UCL School Register.

One student, Iwanaga Shōichi enrolled at both the school and the college.

5. Machida, 'Yōkō Nikki'

6. The practice of dispersing student groups in separate lodging was also to be found among some Indian students, who were instructed by their parents

'to avoid Indian companionship in Britain and mix exclusively in English society, in order to reap the full benefit of their sojourn.' Lahiri, p.202

7. Inuzuka, *Eikoku Ryūgakusei*, pp.102-3

8. I.P. Hall, *Mori Arinori*, (Cambridge, Mass., 1973), p.114
9. Kadota Akira, 'Satsuma Ryūgakusei' in *Eigaku Shi Kenkyū*, No.10, 1977, pp.99-100
10. Hatakeyama Yoshinari, *Sugiura Kōzō Notes*, (Shōko Shūseikan, Kagoshima), pp.4-7
11. Inuzuka, *Taigai Kankei Shi*, p.205  
The *Guide to Aldershot and its Neighbourhood*, (Aldershot 1859), by W. Sheldrake that Hatakeyama obtained at the time is held at the National Diet Library in Tokyo.
12. Nakai, *Kōkai Shinsetsu*, p.295
13. Minami, *Minami Teisuke Jiden*, p.28
14. Nakai, *Kōkai Shinsetsu*, p.295
15. Hayashi Tadasu, *Ato wa Mukashi no Ki*, (Tokyo, 1970), p.19  
Kawaji, 'Taiei Nisshi', p.197  
F.O. Memorandum, 14 September, 1868. FO 46/102
16. Hayashi, *Ato wa Mukashi no Ki*, p.20
17. Ibid., p.179
18. Letter from Oliphant to Cowper, 1 December 1867, reproduced in *Hayashi Takeji Zenshū*, vol.4, (Tokyo 1986), p.227
19. Miyanaga Takashi, 'Bakufu Igrisu Ryūgakusei' in *Shakai Rōdō Kenkyū* vol.36, no.3 (Tokyo, 1989), pp.65-6
20. Hammond to Parkes, 20 August 1867, cited in Checkland, p.161
21. Hayashi, *Ato wa Mukashi no Ki*, p.20
22. Hara Heizō, 'Tokugawa Bakufu no Eikoku Ryūgakusei' in *Rekishi Chiri* vol.79, no.5, (Tokyo, 1942), p.366  
Miyanaga, 'Bakufu Igrisu Ryūgakusei, part 2', p.81,  
Beasley, *Japan Encounters the Barbarian*, p.128
23. *UCL School Register 1866-67 to 1870-71*  
The three *bakufu* students who did not enrol were Nakamura Masanao, Kawaji Tarō and Iwasa Genji who, at 35, 23 and 22 years of age respectively, were the senior members of the party.  
The names of the following ten Japanese students, commonly thought to have studied at UCL between 1863 and 1876, do not appear in the college records:

Inoue Kaoru	Ogoshi Narinori
Yamazaki Kosaburō	Kawakami Kin'ichi
Takeda Yōjirō	Ōkura Shigehiko
Iga Yōtarō	Tatsuno Kingō
Fukuoka Morito	Kusaka Yoshio

At the same time, more than twenty Japanese students previously unconnected with UCL appear in the registers between 1869 and 1876.

All identifiable, these are recorded as follows:

B. Fujimoto '69	J. Mori '72	S. Akamatz '74
S. Amano '69	W. Sasaki '72	Y. Ito '75
J. Sanjo '70	K. Katski '72	S. Akaminy '75
S. Toda '70	K. S. Otori '73	K. C. Honda '75
T. Takuchi '70	H. Yoshida '73	H. Kurobe '75
K. Ohno '72	Y. Hatchida '73	T. Nakabara '75
S. Harada '72	T. Yamaguchi '73	K. Okkots '76
S. Iwanaga '72	K. Manabe '73	B. Inoue '76

One of the *bakufu* students originally registered at UCL School as *D. Mitzkuri* later returned to Britain and reentered the school in 1870 under the name of *D. Kikuchi* 菊池大麓 (箕作大六)

Other Japanese students who registered there in the early 1870s were:

S. Iwanaga	R. Inouye
S. Komuro	S. Kido

#### *UCL School Register 1871-72 to 1875-76*

24. Miyanaga, 'Bakufu Igrisu Ryūgakusei', p. 81

In 1868, Lloyd sent the Foreign Office a compensation bill of £4,893 to pay for the losses he claimed he had incurred through the *bakufu* students' premature departure. The Foreign Office was unwilling to oblige, although he was promised some redress, particularly as Kawaji reportedly received £2,800 intended for student expenses through the Union Bank in London on the eve of his departure. Parkes undertook to recover this sum in Japan.

Letters from Lloyd to Hammond. 18 June and 10 July, 1868. FO 46/102

25. Hayashi, *Ato wa Mukashi no Ki*, p. 21
26. Oliphant to Cowper, 1 December 1867, *Hayashi Takeji Zenshū*, vol. 4, p. 228
27. Kawaji, 'Eikō Nichiroku', p. 190
28. Hayashi, *Ato wa Mukashi no Ki*, p. 180
29. Checkland, *Britain's Encounter with Meiji Japan*, p. 121
30. Hanabusa, 'Ikyō Gaiyū Ki', pp. 22-4
31. Cobbing, *The Satsuma Students in Britain*, (unpublished translation of Inuzuka, *Satsuma Han Eikoku Ryūgakusei*, Tokyo 1974), pp. 131-2
32. 'Eukie' was 'Yūki Kōan from Tosa who had travelled to Britain with Nakai Hiroshi. 'Obah' was Ōba Genjibē also from Tosa, who arrived shortly afterwards although details of his voyage are unknown. Both returned to Kōchi soon afterwards. Nagakuni, *Tosa Ryūgakusei Ibun*, p. 112
33. Oliphant to Cowper, 3 January 1868, *Hayashi Takeji Zenshū*, vol. 4, p. 219



34. Oliphant to Cowper, 1 December 1867, *Hayashi Takeji Zenshū*, vol.4, p.229  
Nakai Hiroshi's diary shows that he spent much time with Hooper during his stay in Britain. It is not known whether Yūki's given name was pronounced Kōan or Takayasu.
35. Inuzuka, *Taigai Kankei Shi*, p.171
36. Hatakeyama, for example, studied at Rutgers College, while Matsumura Junzō received naval training at Annapolis. In November 1868, Oliphant recorded that only four Japanese still remained at Brocton, and these were reduced to two in 1869. *Hayashi Takeji Zenshū*, vol.4, pp.203, 206
37. Nomura, 'Jōsa Nichiroku', p.18

The Japanese boom in London in the early Meiji years

1. *The Times*, 5 February, 1867
2. *Ibid.*, 14 February, 1867
3. Kawaji, *Taiei Nisshi*, p.195
4. *The Times*, 10 June, 1868
5. 'Kōkai Jin Meisai Kan', 'Kaigai yuki Jinmei Hyō',  
'Meiji Kyūnen Kaigai yuki Menjo Hyō', (Gaikō Shiryō Kan, Tokyo)
6. Gaimushō, *Dai Nippon Gaikō Monjo*, vol.3 (Tokyo, 1938), p.692, cited in  
Inuzuka Takaaki, 'Zaiei Nihon Kōshikan no Setchi Kei to sono Henkan' in  
*Seiji Keizai Shigaku*, No.330, December 1995, p.6  
This thesis contains all the details presented here on the early legations.
7. Makino Nobuaki, *Kaikō Roku* (Tokyo, 1977), pp.77-81
8. *UCL School Register 1871-72 to 1875-76*, pp.78, 161  
Kido had previously studied in Portsmouth.
9. Sugiura Jūgō, 'Kōei Nikki', printed in *Sugiura Jūgō Zenshū*  
(Tokyo, 1983), p.44
10. Nanjō Bunyū, *Kaikyū Roku*, (Tokyo, 1979), p.100
11. 'The Life of Tatui Baba', *Baba Tatsui Zenshū*, vol.3, (Tokyo, 1988),  
pp.157-8
12. Kataoka Kenkichi *Nikki*, (Kōchi 1974)
13. Ozaki Saburō *Jijo Ryakuden*, vol.1, (Tokyo, 1976), p.104

Japanese students outside London

1. Inuzuka Takaaki, *Wakaki Mori Arinori*, (Tokyo, 1983), p.55
2. *The Aberdeen Herald*, 5 October 1867
3. P.A. Kadota & T.E. Jones, *Kanaye Nagasawa*, (Kagoshima, 1990), p.73
4. Inuzuka, *Taigai Kankei Shi*, p.154  
Hattori is thought to have travelled to Europe with Thomas Glover.
5. *Hayashi Takeji Zenshū*, vol.4, p.232
6. Nomura, 'Jōsa Nichiroku', pp.40, 45. *Aberdeen Directory 1866*

7. Heyoitchi Hiki is listed as a day boy in Alexander Shewan's *The Record of the Gym* (Edinburgh, 1923). Hiki is identified as Mōri in Inuzuka, *Taigai Kankei Shi*, p.163.  
According to Kita Masaki in *Kokusai Nihon o Kizuita Hitobito* (Tokyo, 1982), p.25, Takaki Seiji (the alias used by Godai Tomoatsu's interpreter Hori Sōjirō) is also recorded as having studied at the Gym. The sources cited, however, contain no evidence to that effect, and records of Hori's movements suggest this is highly unlikely.
8. *The Aberdeen Free Press*, 22 June 1866, shows that Nagasawa came top in first section classes of Latin, English Grammar and Reading, and Geography.  
*The Aberdeen Free Press*, 21 June 1867, shows that Nagasawa came top in Latin, Grammar and Reading, and Composition.  
*The Aberdeen Free Press*, 22 June 1869, recorded Hiki (Mōri) as having come top in Arithmetic, Grammar, Dictation and Writing.
9. Kadota, *Kanaye Nagasawa*, p.79
10. According to the *Aberdeen Directory 1866*, (Aberdeen University), there were no teachers registered by the name of Fraser.
11. *The Aberdeen Herald*, 5 October 1867
12. Nomura, 'Jōsa Nichiroku', p.42
13. Inuzuka, *Wakaki Mori Arinori*, pp.54-5
14. These are in the possession of Yamao Shin'ichi, Minato-ku, Tokyo
15. Miyoshi, 'Kokusai Nihon o kizuita Senkensha', pp.46-7
16. *The Glasgow Herald*, 4 March 1929, not 1 March 1929 as cited in Masaki, *Kokusai Nihon o Kizuita Hitobito*, p.36
17. Other than Yamao and those at Aberdeen, the only Japanese known to have visited Scotland during the 1860s were Yoshida Kiyonari and Sameshima Naonobu, two Satsuma students on vacation who travelled to Glasgow, Stirling and Edinburgh in mid-1866. Kadota, *Kanaye Nagasawa*, p.81.  
The following Spring, Yoshida accompanied Mori Arinori and Nakamura Hiroyoshi to visit Thomas Lake Harris during his trip to Scotland.  
Nakai, *Kōkai Shinsetsu*, p.296  
Olive Checkland identifies Colin Brown's address as 5 West Street, Glasgow.  
See *Britain's Encounter with Meiji Japan*, p.290
18. For details of Dyer's appointment, see Checkland, *Britain's Encounter with Meiji Japan*, pp.263-4
19. H. Dyer, *Dai Nippon* (London, 1904), pp.2-3
20. For details of students in Glasgow in the Meiji period, see Kita Masami's *Kokusai Nihon o Kizuita Hitobito*
21. D. Wilson, *Lord Kelvin, his way of teaching Natural Philosophy* (Glasgow, 1910), pp.26-7

22. R.L. Stevenson, *Yoshida Torajirō, Cornhill* vol.xli 1880, p.327-34
23. For details of Kington Langley, see Nagakuni, *Tosa Ryūgakusei Ibun*
24. Hayashi Yūzō, 'Hayashi-ō Tofutsu Nikki', Kōchi Kenritsu Toshokan.  
This visit to a local prison        may have impressed Baba Tatsui for he  
later wrote a pamphlet condemning the state of Japanese prisons, comparing  
them unfavourably with prisons in the West.
25. *Warminster Herald*, 4 March 1871
26. R. Hope, *A History of the Lord Weymouth School Warminster*  
(Warminster, 1970), p.98  
Private correspondence with Philip Foster, archivist of Warminster School
27. Rev. J.J. Daniell, *The History of Warminster* (London, 1879), p.148
28. *Ibid.*, p.83
29. *Warminster Herald*, 23 December 1871, 3 February 1872
30. *Ibid.*, 25 November 1871, 17 February 1872
31. *Ibid.*, 14 October 1871
32. Sir I. Elliott, ed., *The Balliol College Register 1833-1933*  
(Oxford, 1934), p.81. Tōgō Heihachirō's diary also records Iwakura's  
address as Balliol College in 1874.
33. Nabeshima Naohiro, 'Nabeshima Hōsai-ō Ryakuden', Saga Kenritsu Toshokan
34. *Oxford University Herald*, 23 August 1873
35. *The Times*, 4 December 1873
36. Tomita Hitoshi, *Rokumeikan* (Tokyo, 1984), pp.168-9, 200
37. Massarella, *A World Elsewhere*, p.322
38. Nakayama Shigeru, 'Kikuchi Dairoku no Cambridge Jidai ni tsuite', in  
*Kagaku Shi Kenkyū*, no.65 Jan.-Mar. 1963, p.37  
According to J.A. Venn's *Alumni Cantabrigienses 1752-1900*, 110 students took  
the Mathematical Tripos examination in Kikuchi's year. The top 29 achieved  
wrangler marks, followed by 30 Senior Optimes and 30 Junior Optimes.
39. Lahiri, p.125
40. Tōgō Kai, *Tōgō Heihachirō* (Tokyo, 1994), p.14, also Tōgō's Diary '74  
Tōgō Jinja, Tokyo. Harada's given name is listed as Munesuke in *Umi o*  
*Koeta Nihon Jinmei Jiten*, but he is recorded as 'S. Harada' in Tōgō's  
diary.
41. 'Shigaku Kaikō Negai Besshi - Baba Takeyoshi (Tokyo-To Kōmonjokan)
42. Nanjō, *Kaikyū Roku*, pp.119-48
43. For a description of Japanese working 'In the Shipyards' in the Meiji  
period see Checkland, *Britain's Encounter with Meiji Japan*, 148-58
44. *Kataoka Kenkichi Nikki*, p.58

45. L. Allen, 'Japan and the North-East - Ships and Serendipity' in *European Association for Japanese Studies 1977-1988* 5th Triennial Conference, Durham, 19-22 September 1988, p.12  
Nagakuni, *Tosa Ryūgakusei Ibun*, p.187
46. Tōgō's diary shows also that Hiramoto Shūjirō, previously thought to have studied in Germany, was living in Britain.  
See Inuzuka, *Taigai Kankei Shi*, p.336
47. Hachida's family name appears as Hatta in *Umi o Koeta Nihon Jinmei Jiten* but he is recorded as 'Y. Hatchida' in Tōgō's diary.  
It should be pointed out here that these were not the first overseas students to train with the Royal Navy. In 1870, Maeda Jūrōzaemon and Itsuki Ichirō boarded *HMS Odysseus* under contract to train as naval students. Shortly afterwards, the mentally unbalanced Maeda committed *seppuku* on board off the coast of Brazil. Itsuki returned to Japan in 1874, and was perhaps the 'Lieutenant Etzaki' cited from English sources in Checkland, *Britain's Encounter with Meiji Japan*, p.153
48. Handa Reiko, *Hōmō no Shiroyi Michi* (Tokyo, 1993), p.106-10

#### Further Japanese activities

##### i) financial difficulties

1. Examples include Sano Tsunetami.  
Cobbing, *Taigai Kankei no Kenkyū*, p.145
2. *Nabeshima Naomasa Kōden*, vol.5, p.561  
Nomura, 'Jōsa Nichiroku', p.44
3. Principal debtors listed were as follows.

Takeda	<i>Chōshū</i>	\$5,258.08
Koma	<i>Echizen</i>	\$4,596.50
Hattori	<i>Chōshū</i>	\$3,371.15
Matsudaira	<i>Chikuzen</i>	\$1,995.68
Nakamikado & Sanjō		\$1,610.66
Agei	<i>Chōshū</i>	\$1,376.11
Lord Tokuyama & party		\$1,349.58
4. *Sugiura Kōzō Notes*, (Shōko Shūseikan, Kagoshima)
5. 'Zai Nagasaki Eikoku Korouru Shōsha Bunsu Ato Hikiuke Oranda-Koku Fanderuhotto Shōsha yori Kyū Shohan ni kakawaru Ryūgakusei no Tatekae kin Hensai Seikyū Ikken' (Gaikō Shiryō Kan, Tokyo)
6. Ibid.
7. Ibid.

##### ii) commercial ventures

1. Ozaki, *Ozaki Saburō Jijo Ryakuden*, vol.1, p.132
2. Ibid., p.121

3. Brown. *The Diary of Kido Takayoshi*, vol.2, p.248  
Kido met Minami in Liverpool and London on several occasions. He once had lunch at his bank, and Minami was one of his guides when he visited London Zoo. Ibid., p.201-2  
The explanatory notes in *The Diary of Kido Takayoshi* neither identify Minami nor address the circumstances of the alarm that Kido records.
4. Ibid., p.248
5. Hayashi, *Ato wa Mukashi no Ki*, p.183  
Ozaki, *Ozaki Saburō Jijo Ryakuden*, vol.1, p.130
6. Ozaki, *Ozaki Saburō Jijo Ryakuden*, vol.1, p.129
7. Cobbing, *Saga Han no Taigai Kankei*, p.113
8. 'Meiji Kyūnen Kaigai Yuki Menjo Hyō' (Gaikō Shiryō Kan, Tokyo)

iii) the Society of Japanese Students

1. Baba Tatsui's Diary, *Baba Tatsui Zenshū* vol.3,
2. H. Ballhatchet, 'Baba Tatsui and Victorian Britain: A Case Study of an Early Meiji Intellectual' in *Kindai Nihon Kenkyū*, vol.11 (Tokyo, 1994), p.228
3. *The Brighton Herald*, 9 October 1875
4. Ibid., 16 October 1875
5. *Baba Tatsui Zenshū*, vol.4, p.15-20
6. Nanjō, *Kaikyū Roku*, p.iii
7. Ibid., p.103
8. Ibid., p.vi  
Sakurai's figures are questionable. In 1877, Kuo Sung-t'ao, the Chinese minister wrote that 'Japan has sent over two hundred people here to learn special skills. They are living in different parts, about ninety being in London. Of the twenty and more I have met, all know English.'  
Frodsham, p.101  
While Kuo may have been describing numbers more applicable to the early 1870s, Sakurai's figures are certainly too low. See Fig.4, p.34

iv) published works and journalism

1. Hagihara Nobutoshi, *Baba Tatsui* (Tokyo, 1967), p.39
2. *Baba Tatsui Zenshū*, vol.4, p.21
3. Hagihara, p.38
4. Ballhatchet, 'Baba Tatsui', p.243
5. Ibid., p.247
6. *The Times*, 15 January 1873. This student's identity is unknown.
7. Inuzuka, *Eikoku Ryūgakusei*, p.90  
Minami, 'Minami Teisuke Jiden', p.31

8. *The Times*, 20 February 1873

A similar article on the *Taisei Shinbun* also appeared in Japan in April 1873. See *Shinbun Shūsei Meiji Hennenshi*, (Tokyo, 1925), vol.2, p.37

9. Minami, 'Minami Teisuke Jiden', p.31

10. Yoshida Mitsukuni, *Ryōyō no Me*, (Tokyo, 1978), pp.12-5

11. Narushima, *Kōsei Nichijō* in *Meiji Bunka Zenshū*, vol.7, p.437

12. Yoshida, *Ryōyō no Me*, p.38

13. Minami, 'Minami Teisuke Jiden', p.32

14. *Taisei Shinbun* (reproduction), Tokyo University

v) artistic pursuits

1. Inuzuka, *Eikoku Ryūgakusei*, pp.141-3

2. Tanita Hiroyuki, 'Rossetti to Satsuma Han Ryūgakusei to - W.M. Rossetti ate no G.P. Boyce Mikan Shokan Ittsū o megutte', in *Bijutsu Shi Kenkyū* No.27, (Tokyo 1989)

3. W.M. Rossetti, 'Japanese Woodcuts: An Illustrated Story Book from Japan' in *The Reader*, 31 October 1863, p.501-503, 7 November 1863, p.536-538 cited in *Ibid.*, 'Rossetti to Satsuma', p.83

4. *Ibid.*, 'Rossetti to Satsuma', p.82

5. W.M. Rossetti, *Some Reminiscences* (New York 1906), p.507 cited in *Ibid.*, 'Rossetti to Satsuma', p.84

6. Nagakuni, *Tosa Ryūgakusei Ibun*, p.127

7. *Ibid.*, p.133

8. Satō Aiko, *Nihon Mei Gaka Den* (Tokyo, 1967), p.108

9. Miwa Hideo, 'Hyakutake Kaneyuki', in *Kindai no Bijutsu* 53, (Tokyo, July 1979), p.25

10. J.L. Roget, *A History of the 'Old Water-Colour' Society* (London, 1891), vol.2, p.285

11. Hyakutake painted two pictures of Barnard Castle. One is kept by the Imperial Household, the other by Saga Prefectural Museum

12. *Exhibition of the Royal Academy of Arts*, (London, 1876), p.93

Hyakutake was still using the name of Hyakutake Yasutarō at the time and is recorded as 'Hiaktake, Y. 41 Clanricarde Gardens,

View near Yokohama in Japan' (catalogue number 903)

13. Miwa, 'Hyakutake Kaneyuki', p.17-97

vi) rites of passage

1. Minami, 'Minami Teisuke Jiden', p.31

2. Epilogue by Ozaki Harumori in *Ozaki Saburō Jijo Ryakuden (op cit.)*, vol.2, p.325-29

3. Letter from Theodore Lewis, 14 July 1887 in 'Naigai Jinmin Kekkon Zakken - Ozaki Saburō Rikon no Ikken', (Meiji 20) (Gaikō Shiryō Kan, Tokyo)

4. Ozaki, *Ozaki Saburō Jijo Ryakuden*, vol.2, p.327  
Of Ozaki's three daughters, Eiko, the eldest, later married the statesman Ozaki Yukio, while Masako and Kimiko found British and Swedish husbands.
5. letter to Gaimushō from Theodore Lewis, 13 February 1888. 'Rikon no Ikken'
6. Ibid., letter from Lewis, 14 July 1887
7. 'Naigai Jinmin Kekkon Zakken 1, (Gaikō Shiryō Kan, Tokyo)
8. Minami, *Minami Teisuke Jiden*', pp.31-2
9. 'Naigai Jinmin Kekkon Zakken 1'  
Minami's marriage was witnessed by a Japanese student recorded as 'Mori Hachisuka.' This may have been Mori Jingobē, a student from Tokushima then in Britain, or Moridera Tsunenori, a retainer in the party of Hachisuka Mochiaki.
10. Minami, 'Minami Teisuke Jiden', p.32
11. Oki Morikata papers, (Tottori Kenritsu Toshokan)
12. Brown, *The Diary of Kido Takayoshi*, vol.2, p.221
13. Ibid., p.225  
This was Sanjō Kimiyasu and not Sanjō Sanetomi as suggested in Brown's notes, p.447
14. Another student, Nishimura Isaburō, one of the naval students who arrived with Tōgō in 1871 is usually thought to have died in Britain in 1874.  
See Inuzuka, *Taigai Kankei Shi*, p.331  
Tōgō, however, recorded Nishimura leaving Britain in his diary that year, and in his native Tosa, he is recorded as having 'expired the day after reaching Japan'. See Nagakuni, *Tosa Ryūgakusei Ibun*, p.118
15. Minami, 'Minami Teisuke Jiden', p.29
16. *London and China Express*, 10 March 1866
17. Fukuro is referred to as Fukuro Kyūhei in Japanese reference works. The inscription on his grave, however, reads as Fukuro Kuhei and consultation with his descendants has confirmed this reading to be correct.
18. Allen, 'Japan and the North-East', p.12  
Another slightly later case was that of Iwamoto Katsunosuke, a *samurai* from Yamaguchi, who died in the North-East on 21 June 1877 at the age of 20, and was buried at St. John's Churchyard, Elswick, Newcastle-upon-Tyne.
19. *The Times*, 15 January 1873
20. Kinmonth, *The Self-Made Man in Meiji Japanese Thought*, p.23

#### Conclusion

1. Harrell, p.210
2. Lahiri, p.329

## CHAPTER FIVE

### Domestic circumstances and the return to Japan

1. Miwa, 'Hyakutake Kaneyuki', p.24
2. Itakura Seiden, ed., *Nagaoka Hantarō Den* (Tokyo, 1976), p.14

### Student regulations and the recall from Britain

1. Inoue Hisao, *Gakusei Ronkō* (Tokyo, 1963), pp.384, 408-25
  2. 'Ryūgakusei Kokoroe', (Tsuda Juku Daigaku, Tokyo)
  3. Nihon Kokusai Kyōkai, *Dai Nippon Gaikō Monjo*, vol.4 (Tokyo, 1939), p.114
  4. *Sugiura Kōzō Memo*, Kagoshima Kenritsu Tanki Daigaku Chiiki  
Kenkyūsho Nenpō No.18, 1990 , pp.45-7
  5. Ozaki, *Ozaki Saburō Jijo Ryakuden*, vol.1, p.122
  6. Inoue, pp.408-25
  7. Watanabe, p.308
  8. Ishizuki, p.166
  9. Inoue, pp.391-2
- The code included 18 of the 25 points made by Terashima and Itō,  
and 22 of the 33 points made by Mori.
10. 'Kakukoku Zai Kōshi e Shitatsubun', in *Zassho*, (Kokuritsu Kōmonjo Kan)  
cited in *Baba Tatsui Zenshū*, vol.4, pp.27-31
  11. Inuzuka, *Taigai Kankei Shi*, pp.311-40
  12. *The Times*, 16 August 1873
  13. Ozaki, *Ozaki Saburō Jijo Ryakuden*, p.143
  14. Tsumaki Chūta ed. *Kido Takayoshi Monjo*, vol.5 (Tokyo, 1929-31) p.187  
Ozaki, *Ozaki Saburō Jijo Ryakuden*, p.143
  15. *The Times*, 16 August 1873
  16. Watanabe, p.306
  17. *The Times*, 19 August 1873
  18. *Ibid.*, 21 August 1873
  19. *Ibid.*, 23 August 1873
  20. Ishizuki, p.189
  21. *Meiji Bunka Zenshū* (supplementary volume, Tokyo 1984) p.509
  22. Ozaki, *Ozaki Saburō Jijo Ryakuden*, p.144
  23. *Shinbun Shūsei Meiji Hennen Shi*, vol.2, p.26 (*Shinbun Zasshi* 85)
  24. Watanabe, p.340
  25. Ozaki, *Ozaki Saburō Jijo Ryakuden*, pp.144-5
  26. Watanabe, p.306
  27. 'Kaigai Ryūgakusei Kaisei Shobun no Gi ni tsuki Ukagai'  
(Kokuritsu Kōmonjokan), cited in *Baba Tatsui Zenshū*, vol.4, pp.31-3
  28. *Ibid.*



29. Japanese works describing *Monbushō* regulations like Inoue Hisao's *Gakusei Ronkō* and Watanabe Minoru's *Kindai Nihon Ryūgakusei Shi* have not pointed out this discrepancy between the theory and reality of *Monbushō* policy.
30. Watanabe, p.311
31. Ibid.
32. Ibid., p.315
33. Sugiura Jūgō *Zenshū*, p.674
34. *Chōya Shinbun*, 25 October 1878, *Hennen Shi*, vol.3, p.466
35. Ishizuki, p.205

#### Arrival in Japan

1. Kusuya, *Bakumatsu Ōshū Kenbun Roku*, p.187
2. Nire, 'Kōbei Nikki,' vol.2, Kagoshima Kenritsu Tanki Daigaku Chiiki Kenkyū Sho Nenpō', No.14, 1985, p.30
3. Ozaki, *Ozaki Saburō Jijo Ryakuden*, pp.165-6
4. Baba Tatsui *Zenshū* (vol.3), p.246
5. Nakamigawa Hikojiro *Denki Shiryō*, p.52
6. *Meiji Bunka Zenshū*, vol.16, (Tokyo 1928), pp.339-44
7. Hunter, p.88

#### Post-return activities

1. S. J. Ericson, *The Sound of the Whistle; Railroads and the State in Meiji Japan* (Harvard, 1996), p.118
2. Hunter, p.96
3. Ibid., pp.94, 110
4. Other governors included Himoto Yoshio, Iwasaki Shōjirō and Kinoshita Shūichi. Inuzuka, *Taigai Kankei Shi*, pp.329-40
5. These are recorded in UCL registers as K. Katski, Y. Sannomiya, K. Ohno and K. Manabe
6. *Segai Inoue Kōden*, vol.3, p.733
7. Frodsham, pp.132-3

#### i) the Kyōzon Dōshū

1. Ballhatchett, 'Baba Tatsui', p.223
2. Nishimura Shinji, ed., *Ono Azusa Zenshū* (Tokyo, 1935), pp.175-82
3. Ishizuki, p.253
4. Watanabe, p.331
5. *Baba Tatsui Zenshū* (vol.4), p.41

#### ii) publications

1. Tomita, *Rokumeikan*, pp.215, 221-2  
Ironically perhaps, it was Nakai who gave the *Rokumeikan* its name, and his first wife, Takeko, later married Inoue Kaoru and was closely involved with the social events held there.

2. Kinmonth, *The Self-Made Man in Meiji Japanese Thought*, p. 27  
For a discussion of 'the character ethic' in Smiles' thought see pp. 12-3
3. Ibid., p. 20
4. Takahashi Masao, *Nakamura Keiu* (Tokyo, 1966), p. 60
5. *The Times*, 3 October 1873  
Nakamura was encouraged by the success of *Saikoku Risshi Hen* to translate two later works by Smiles;  
*Character* appeared under the title *Seiyō Hinkō Ron [On Western Moral Conduct]* in 1878.  
*Thrift* was published as *Seiyō Setsuyō Ron [On Western Frugality]* in 1886.  
These were only modest successes in comparison with *Saikoku Risshi Hen*.
6. Takahashi, p. 104
7. Hunter, p. iv  
Maejima also founded the *Mainichi Hirakana Shinbun Shi*
8. Takahashi, pp. 154, 95-98, 206-13  
Watanabe, p. 325
9. *Nakamigawa Hikojiro Denki Shiryō*, p. 38
10. Watanabe, pp. 382-3  
Beasley quotes from *Nihon in Japan Encounters the Barbarian* (p. 223)  
'We recognize the excellence of Western civilization. We value the Western theories of rights, liberty, and equality; and we respect Western philosophy and morals. We have affection for some Western customs. Above all, we esteem Western science, economics and industry. These, however, ought not to be adopted simply because they are Western; they ought to be adopted only if they can contribute to Japan's welfare.'
11. Nomura, 'Hōseki Hiroku', pp. 57-8
12. Ishizuki, p. 291

iv) education

1. These works included:  
Uchida Masao *Oranda Gakusei* (1869)  
Ohara Kanzaburō *Seiyō Gakkō Kihan* (1870)  
inc. volume on regulations at Columbia State University.  
*Monbushō* *Fukukoku Gakusei* (1873)  
*Monbushō* *Riji Kōtei* (1873)  
inc. volume on the Massachusetts education system.  
Inoue, pp. 84-8, 146-7
2. Inuzuka, *Taigai Kankei Shi*, pp. 87-90, 116
3. Cobbing, *Saga Han no Taigai Kankei*, pp. 128-9
4. Takahashi, pp. 54-6
5. Handa, p. 134

6. Cobbing, *Saga Han no Taigai Kankei*, p.132. Nakano Hatsune, another *Keirinsha* student who was called up to Tokyo by Ishimaru, became a specialist in telegraphy and received a doctorate in engineering after studying in Britain  
Morris' mining activities in Imari are recorded in  
'Saga narabi Ogi Ryōhan ni oite Eikokujin Morisu Yatoire Kanka Kisu  
oyobi Kuhara Mura Sekitankō Kaisaku Ikken, (Gaikō Shiryōkan, Tokyo)
7. Hosokawa Akira, 'Shida Rinzaburō no Taku/Saga jidai', in  
*Seinan Chiiki Shi Kenkyū*, vol.9 (Tokyo, 1994), pp.343-7
8. 'Koizumi Shinzō Dan', in *Nakamigawa Hikojirō Denki Shiryō*, p.51
- 9 Ibid., p.38
10. Imazu Kenji, *Karakuri Giemon* (Tokyo, 1992), pp.160, 163, 167-70, 209, 218-9
11. Takahashi, p.175
12. Ibid.
13. Hunter, p.326
14. Takahashi, pp.177, 185
15. Okamoto Inamaru, 'Waga Kuni Kindai Mōrō oyobi Rōa Kyōiku Undō to  
Yamao Yōzō', in *Nihon Shuwa Kenkyū Shohō*, no.8, (Tokyo, May 1991),  
pp.3-5

#### CONCLUSION

1. Lahiri, p.191
2. Ibid, p.330
3. Harrell, p.69
4. 'Shinbun Zasshi 85'  
*Meiji Hennen Shi*, vol.2, p.25

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| <i>Zai Nagasaki Korouru Shōsha Bunsan</i>   | 「在長崎英國コロウル商社分散跡引受和蘭國     |
| <i>...Ryūgakusei no Tatekae Hensai</i>      | ファンデルホット商社ヨリ旧諸藩ニ係ル       |
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